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ABSTRACT

This is the first of four appendixes to Volume III of the Rand report "Federal Programs Supporting Educational Change." This appendix is a description of Title III of the Elementary Secondary Education Act (ESEA) as it operates at the federal and state levels, together with a description and analysis of factors that contribute to the strengths and weaknesses of selected Title III projects. Section 1 describes the origins and the planning and management strategies that the United States Office of Education (USOE) adopted for Title III, both in the state plan program, which is administered by state departments of education, and in the smaller federally funded programs, which USOE administers directly. Section 2 describes the role of state education agencies in Title III. Section 3 presents syntheses of the fieldwork case studies. In examining Title III, the researchers decided to focus on projects that were reputed to be successful in one of two particularly difficult aspects of reform: classroom organization, which generally implies a shift in classroom practice toward concepts of open education, and staff development, which often aims at important changes in teacher behavior. Section 4 presents the individual case studies. (Author)

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FEDERAL PROGRAMS SUPPORTING EDUCATIONAL CHANGE, VOL. III: THE PROCESS OF CHANGE
Appendix A. Innovations in Classroom Organization and Staff Development

PREPARED FOR THE U.S. OFFICE OF EDUCATION,
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PREFACE

Rand is conducting, under the sponsorship of the U.S. Office of Education, a several-year study of federally funded programs designed to introduce and spread innovative practices in public schools.* These change agent programs normally offer temporary federal funding to school districts as "seed money." If an innovation is successful, it is assumed that the district will continue and disseminate part or all of the project using other sources of funds. The Rand study examines four such federal change agent programs--Elementary and Secondary Education Act Title III, Innovative Projects; Elementary and Secondary Education Act Title VII, Bilingual Projects; Vocational Education Act, 1968 Amendments, Part D, Exemplary Programs; and the Right-To-Read Program. The study identifies what tends to promote various kinds of changes in the schools and what doesn't; in particular, the Rand study will identify for federal, state, and local policymakers the nature, permanence, and extent of dissemination of innovations that are associated with the various federal programs and with various federal, state, and local practices.

A series of five reports describes the first-year results of the Rand study (July 1973 to July 1974):

Volume I (R-1589/1-HEW, A Model of Educational Change) provides a theoretical perspective for the Rand study by analyzing the current state of knowledge of planned change in education and by proposing a conceptual model of factors affecting change processes within school districts.*

Volume II (R-1589/2-HEW, Factors Affecting Change Agent Projects) contains the analysis of survey data collected by a national sample of 293 projects in 18 states during November and December 1973.

Volume III (R-1589/3-HEW, The Process of Change) summarizes the findings and policy implications resulting from 29 case studies of change agent projects conducted by Rand staff members and consultants in 25 school districts during April and May 1974. The case study sites, chosen from the original sample of 293 projects initially surveyed, represent a variety of project objectives and local district conditions. This report also describes the role of the state education agencies in selecting, managing, and disseminating change agent projects.

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*Because of Rand's interest in advancing knowledge of organizational behavior in educational institutions, the research underlying this report was supported in part by an allocation of Rand corporate research funds.

Volume IV (R-1589/4-HEW, The Findings in Review) summarizes the findings of Vols. I, II, and III, and also synthesizes extensive data collected by Rand on federal-level program strategy and management for each of the change agent projects. Volume IV also includes a discussion of alternative federal strategies for promoting innovation.

Volume V (R-1589/5-HEW, Executive Summary) presents the study's methods and results for a general audience.

Subsequent research will collect additional data on Titles III and VII of ESEA, with particular focus on projects whose federal funding has expired.

This report is one of four appendixes to Vol. III. Each appendix deals with a different federal change program and brings together our first-year observations and findings at federal, state, and local levels. Appendix A deals with Title III, App. B with reading programs, App. C with bilingual education, and App. D with career education.

This appendix deals with Title III of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, which funds innovative projects proposed by local school districts. Section I describes the origins and the planning and management strategies that USOE adopted for Title III, both in the state plan program, which is administered by state departments of education, and in the smaller federally funded programs, which USOE administers directly. Section II describes the role of state education agencies in Title III. Section III presents syntheses of our fieldwork case studies. In examining Title III, we decided to focus on projects that were reputed to be successful in one of two particularly difficult aspects of reform: classroom organization, which generally implies a shift in classroom practice toward concepts of open education; and staff development, which often aims at important changes in teacher behavior. The syntheses of Sec. III describe the similarities and differences we found in project planning, implementation, and adaptation of each of the two types of projects. It also attempts to generalize from the limited evidence. Section IV presents the individual case studies for these Title III projects. In all cases, the names of states, school district projects, and people are fictitious. Each district that participated did so under a promise of anonymity; our respondents' frankness and cooperativeness testify to the merits of this guarantee in producing a fair picture of how these projects developed, with their various strengths and weaknesses.

Ideally, our work would include a synthesis to describe how interactions of federal, state, and local levels have shaped Title III. Building on this synthesis, we could then recommend to policymakers at each level courses of action that taken together could improve the effectiveness of Title III. But we had to settle, in view of time and resource limitations, for much less than this ambitious goal. Instead, in this appendix we present our findings at each level of government in separate sections with little attempt to integrate the findings from different levels. That task is approached in Vol. IV of this series (R-1589/4-HEW, The Findings in Review), but cannot be pursued to its conclusion within the framework of the present study.

What we have produced in this appendix is a description of Title III as it operates at the federal and state level, together with our description and analysis of factors that contribute to the strengths and weaknesses of selected Title III projects as they actually operate in the setting of the schools. The implications of our findings for public policy are discussed more fully in Vol. IV.

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I. TITLE III OF THE ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION ACT

GENERAL OVERVIEW

This section provides a brief overview of the ESEA Title III program to serve as a background for understanding the case studies of individual projects. The data in the overview were obtained from documents and interviews with program personnel.

The Title III program was first enacted in April 1965 as part of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA). As is widely recognized, this legislation defined a major new role for the federal government in American education because of the massive shift of policymaking power involved in the series of programs authorized.* The act had five main titles and each was a bold new policy step: Title I, to upgrade the education of disadvantaged children; Title II, to improve school libraries and instructional materials; Title III, to provide funds for innovation; Title IV, to support research and development in education; and Title V, to strengthen state departments of education.

Title III was intended broadly to support improvement in the quality of education through innovations initiated by local school districts. This was a radical departure from previous federal programs designed to support change in education which had been mostly for research and development performed outside the local schools, or for the diffusion of new methods into the schools through grants for in-service training, hiring specialist staff, or purchasing curriculum materials and other school equipment.

The strategy of Title III was that local school districts would be provided grants to develop their own ideas into model programs and that this activity would have the demonstration effects of stimulating other school districts to adopt these model programs or attempt their own innovations. This "bottom-up" approach to innovation, involving the funding of local districts to develop innovations and stimulate their adoption by other school districts, is the key feature of Title III and has been the model for all the other programs in the change agent study.

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*Stephen K. Bailey and Edith K. Mosher, ESEA: The Office of Education Administers a Law, Syracuse University Press, Syracuse, New York, 1968, p. 3.

Title III has the broadest mandate of all the change agent programs, since projects can be supported in virtually any educational problem area, ranging in concern from educational administration to classroom learning; in subject area, from basic skills to fine arts; in student ability, from the under-achiever to the gifted; and in income group, from the rich to the poor. A project that can be supported in any of the other change agent programs can be supported in Title III.

PROGRAM BUDGET AND NUMBERS OF PROJECTS

Title III has always been the most heavily funded of all the change agent programs. In most years, the appropriation has been about $150 million, which is about five times the budget for the largest of the other change agent programs (the Bilingual Program). The appropriations for the Title III budget reached a peak of almost $190 million in 1968 after a rapid increase from $75 million in the first year. Since 1968, Title III appropriations have fallen back and stabilized at a level of about $150 million. This appropriation is about 40 percent of the authorized level. Table 1 shows the Title III budget from 1966 to 1974.

The allocation of these appropriations among states is defined by a formula in the Title III legislation specifying that states should receive $200,000 plus an

Table 1

AUTHORIZATIONS, APPROPRIATIONS, AND EXPENDITURES FOR TITLE III, STATE PLAN

($ million)

Year	Authorizations[a]	Appropriations	Expenditures
1966	100	75	46.128
1967	175	135	162.397
1968	500	187.876	182.811
1969	512.5	164.876	164.774
1970	550	116.393	116.393
1971	550	143.393	143.393
1972	605	146.393	146.393
1973	623.15	146.393	146.393
1974	623.15	146.393	146.393

SOURCE: Annual Evaluation Report on Education Programs: FY 1973, U.S. DHEW, OE, Office of Planning, Budgeting, and Evaluation (internal report).

[a]Applies both to State Plans and to Title III 306 program.

amount in proportion to the school-age population and the total population of the state.* According to this formula, the largest amount received by a state in 1973 was $12,930,000 in California, and the least in 1973 was $512,000 in Alaska. The formula has not changed since the Title III legislation was first passed.

Data on the numbers of "operational" projects supported by Title III over the years are shown in Table 2. Title III distinguishes an "operational" project as for the purpose of implementing a well-planned innovation. Other kinds of projects that Title III has defined are "planning grants," which are used to support projects through their early stages of development, and "mini-grants," which are small allotments of funds to school districts for them to innovate on a small scale. In the early years of Title III, mini-grants were used to introduce school districts to the idea of an innovative project, but now are used mostly to support a teacher or a principal who wants to try out an idea that he or she has on a small scale. Data on the numbers of planning grants and mini-grants have not been included in Table 2 because these data are not uniformly available.

The data for operational projects in the Commissioner's program in FY 1972 and FY 1973 indicate a large increase in the number of projects supported compared with FY 1971. Approximately 400 of these additional projects were small grants of $500 or less to school districts for assistance in adopting commercial reading readiness materials.

PROGRAM STRATEGY

The management strategy of Title III has changed considerably since its inception in 1965. These changes have occurred because of amendments to the basic law by Congress and efforts by staff in the federal program office to develop a structured innovation strategy for Title III.

Title III was originally authorized as a Commissioner's program, which means that projects were selected by the OE and that funds were awarded directly to local education agencies. In practice, however, OE asked the states for recommendations on which projects should be supported and seldom funded what states disapproved. Then, in 1967, two years after Title III was first enacted,

*PL 89-10, ESEA Title III, Sec. 302(a)(2).

Table 2

NUMBER OF (OPERATIONAL) TITLE III PROJECTS SUPPORTED

Fiscal Year	State Plan Program		Commissioner's Program		Total
	New Projects	Continuations	New Projects	Continuations	
1966			256	—	
1967			502	507	
1968			509	902	
1969	294	1,246			
1970					
1971			110	21	
1972			509	121	
1973			390	451	
1974					

SOURCES: DHEW, Focus on Innovation, A Report on the Status and Operation of ESEA, Title III, January 1970; and unpublished information from Title III program office.

the Congress amended the law to give states more control over the program by turning responsibility over to them for selecting and funding projects. The basic intent of the law was not changed, but federal influence over the substantive priorities and management of Title III was diminished. Congress required, though, that states would have to "set forth" a plan (the State Plan) for spending their allotment of Title III funds and gave OE power to review and approve these plans, and to withhold up to one-half of a state's allotment until a satisfactory plan was submitted. The Congress intended that the Title III State Plan should be more than an administrative document through provisions in the law requiring that states specify a program strategy for the improvement of education through grants to local education agencies including an assessment of educational needs and a plan for relating Title III to those needs.

The first formal set of guidelines for the State Plan program was issued in the fall of 1971. These guidelines described a change strategy; they further specified criteria for the states to follow in designing a management plan for their Title III programs, which the State Plans Branch would use to evaluate the plans submitted. The change strategy described was essentially an application of the accountability model for program management to the management of Title III at the state level. A fundamental assumption of the strategy was that the state should take an active role as a "facilitator of educational change," by determining educational needs, supporting the initiation and conduct of projects to meet these needs, verifying and disseminating the results of successful projects, and establishing performance

feedback networks to monitor program progress. The State Plan contract strategy had seven main components:

- Educational needs assessment
- Project development
- Selection and funding of model projects
- Project and program evaluation
- Validation
- Dissemination
- Adoption

Under this approach, the federal office would neither determine spending priorities, nor would it be involved in project management. The federal office would only be concerned with the process by which the states managed the Title III program.

To support these new responsibilities, the 1967 amendments provided for a great expansion of Title III staff at the state level from the fewer than 50 provided by states in the first years of the Title III program to over 446 full-time equivalent positions today. This large increase in staff provided the states with much more capacity to develop strong change programs and to work closely with local projects. The Title III state staffs now have many more personnel than the federal program office has ever had (the maximum was less than 60) or than offices have had in any of the other change agent programs.

As a means of making Title III programs more independent of the politics of the Commissioner's office, the 1967 amendments also required that each state establish a State Advisory Council to advise on the preparation of the State Plan, review and make recommendations on all project proposals, and evaluate programs and projects. The Title III federal program has moved to increase the independence and professionalism of State Advisory Councils by organizing a National Association of State Advisory Council chairmen. The membership of this association has become the strongest (and about the only) source of constituency support for Title III in Congress.

When the Title III program was converted to state operation, the interest of leadership in OE, DHEW, and the Bureau of the Budget dropped markedly, and the federal program office has been relatively free to develop the State Plan program in its own way. Continuing a trend that began in the first years of Title III, federal staff members have tried in various ways to encourage the development of

a structured change strategy for the program. In the early years of Title III, efforts were made to differentiate projects in different stages of the change process, to develop regional centers for supporting change in education, and to generate projects in priority areas -- efforts that have had little success. Since the conversion to the State Plan approach, federal staff members have worked with the states, using the vehicle of the State Plan and other methods, to encourage the development of their organizational capacity to support statewide innovation. Specifically, the State Plan program has promoted SEA development and adoption of an accountability approach to managing the change process, including the development of formal needs assessment procedures; project evaluation guidelines; a system for identifying and validating successful local projects; and more recently, strategies for supporting school districts in the adoption of successful projects. The project validation system, which was developed in participation with the states and is called the Identification, Validation, and Dissemination (IVD) system, involves on-site visits by teams of experts to assess the quality of candidate projects using a structured instrument. The IVD system has become a significant state level activity and appears to be stimulating other kinds of changes in the management of Title III, such as increased interest in using the accountability model for project evaluation and in developing adoption-support systems.

When Congress amended the Title III law in 1967, it added a Section 306 program that continued the Commissioner's part of Title III but at a lower level of authorization. Section 306 specifies that the Commissioner's funds are to be used for projects making "a substantial contribution to the solution of critical educational problems common to all or several states." In the first year of conversion to the State Plan approach, 25 percent of the total Title III appropriation was authorized for the Section 306 program but in the second year no funds were authorized. In 1971, the authorization was changed again to provide that at least 15 percent of the Title III authorization be allotted to the Section 306 program, and the appropriation has remained at this level. When the Section 306 program was reauthorized, OE established a separate office to manage the program, which remained intact until January 1974, when the Section 306 and State Plan programs were recombined into a single office.

The various specific goals and strategies of the Title III program at the state level are described in Sec. II.

II. STATE EDUCATION AGENCY PARTICIPATION*

The Title III program involved the most significant participation by SEA personnel of all the programs in our study. Furthermore, while other programs tended to be captured by SEA traditionalists with sometimes limited commitments to reform (reading, vocational education), Title III people tended to be more focused on innovation and less tied to supporting traditional views.

For the 15 percent of Title III funds administered directly by OE, there was practically no SEA interest or involvement. State Title III people consistently viewed these projects as totally inferior in design and execution to their own. Especially in those states characterized by a strong management approach, federal projects were perceived as loosely run and were strongly criticized by state Title III personnel.

PROJECT GENERATION/SELECTION

The project generation and selection process in the SEAs generally follows a regular set of sequential procedures, which begins when the SEA notifies its LEAs of the availability of Title III funds during the coming funding cycle. This announcement is generally made in a letter from the chief state school officer (CSSO) or the SEA Title III director to the head school administrator in each LEA in the state.

The various LEAs are then expected to notify the SEA of their funding interests by means of a "letter of interest" or a project prospectus, which must be submitted to the SEA by a specified calendar deadline. When these preliminary expressions of LEA interest in Title III funding are received by the SEA, they are reviewed by a panel of readers (usually outside consultants, SEA Title III staff, and other SEA staff with competence in specific content areas). After this review, certain LEAs are requested to submit full proposals by a future calendar deadline.

When these proposals are received by the SEA, they are reviewed by a panel similar (or perhaps, identical) to the one that reviewed the preliminary proposals. At the conclusion of this review process, each proposal receives some type of ordinal ranking, which varies from state to state. One state may use a "high-priority," "middle-priority," "low-priority" ranking system; another state

*Based on telephone interviews with program officers in eighteen states and personal interviews in nine.

may prefer a five (or more) point scale, in which one extreme represents a proposal that should definitely receive funding, while the other extreme signifies a proposal that should definitely not be funded. In any event, a consensus of "expert" opinion is arrived at, and the top-ranking proposals are referred to a review board (frequently called the State Advisory Committee) for approval.

After the state review board has considered each proposal, it recommends which proposals should be funded to the CSSO, who must make the final decision about which projects are to receive grants. Once this decision is made, the LEAs are informed, and the generation/selection process of project funding is completed.

Within this general procedure, specific generation/selection practices vary from state to state. For example, one SEA may opt to simply notify the various LEAs of funding availability, and then leave the local districts pretty much to their own devices in generating a preliminary and final proposal. On the other hand, some SEAs put forth extra effort to encourage submission of proposals by providing LEAs with simplified formats for submitting preliminary funding interest statements or extensive guides to writing proposals. They may also sponsor various kinds of workshops--either at the SEA or at some conveniently located local site--to assist local districts in preparing final proposals. Still other SEAs exhort submission of proposals--in fact, say to some of their LEAs, "Submit something, anything. We'll fund it."

Even within these SEA postures, there is variation in the proposal generation/selection process. In one state, acceptance of a preliminary funding application virtually guarantees final funding. This SEA runs proposal writing workshops in order to smooth out and refine initial proposals into a final fundable form. In other words, the SEA, in effect, accepts the general idea that a local district has put forward and then proceeds to work out the details of what is to be accomplished specifically in the project to be funded.

In another instance, the majority of LEAs submitting preliminary interest statements are invited to attend proposal writing workshops* which, in this case, act as a screening device for proposals. After attending a number of workshops and submitting a similar number of proposals, a district that is continually denied funding gets the message and withdraws its proposal from funding consideration.

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*Districts submitting proposals requiring funding of a magnitude such that local continuation of a project would be impossible after funding expiration are asked to reconsider their funding requests. If they fail to modify their request for funding allotment, they are not invited to attend the proposal writing workshops. Similarly, LEAs attempting to do the "impossible" are excluded from attendance at these workshops.

This procedure, of course, serves to guarantee that the SEA will get the quantity, quality, and type of project that it wishes to fund.

While the procedure used in project funding selection may vary across states, most SEAs follow their own agendas in selecting projects for funding. In our on-site interview sample, criteria for funding ranged from a straightforward "proposal/project quality" standard through standards that allowed the "quality" criterion to be attenuated by geographic or other distributional concerns to the point where some projects were funded strictly according to political considerations, regardless of the quality ratings given by the SEA review panel(s). The following specific examples demonstrate this variation in funding policies.

In one state, projects receive funding on the basis of their SEA-assessed quality; that is, funds are distributed on the basis of SEA appraisal of a particular project's innovativeness in dealing with a significant educational problem, and on the basis of that project's chances of success (i.e., of achieving good results in terms of the project's stated goals and the goals the SEA has identified through its needs assessment, and of its likelihood of being continued after Title III funding stops). The Title III director in this state said that projects "have got to be good and must fit in with the goals the state has outlined." (In this state, the SEA Title III office is explicit in announcing its goals to the LEAs.)

In another state, although "quality" of the proposal/project seemed to be the primary criterion for funding Title III requests, it was admitted that certain geographic regions of the state must have a "funded project or two" for "political" reasons.

In another state, the major criterion for funding projects is also "quality" of "proposal/project design" as determined by SEA evaluation procedures. However, adherence to the standard of "quality," i.e., high ranking in SEA review panel procedures, is sometimes mitigated by an interest in maintaining a "portfolio" of projects rather than by political/geographic concerns. This SEA avoids putting all of its innovative eggs in one content basket. It prefers to spread its Title III dollars over as many content areas as possible while maintaining the quality of individual projects. (It sometimes negotiates project budgets upward to ensure project quality and, one may assume, to maintain a balance in its "portfolio.")

As a result of this funding policy, this SEA must resolve the conflict of whether to fund projects of mediocre quality in low interest content areas, as opposed to projects of high quality in high interest content areas. The criterion applied here is which proposals would best fill the "portfolio" of the SEA in the

various content areas. On the basis of this consideration, funding conflicts are resolved.

In yet another state, SEA concern about funding "quality" Title III projects is subordinated to its interest in distributing Title III dollars over as wide a funding audience as possible. Since the goal of SEA Title III staff in this state is "to get at least one project in each of the several hundred county school districts within the state," their funding priorities seem strictly geographically, rather than qualitatively, oriented. They have packaged several small curriculum projects and are willing to fund any LEA that will submit a brief write-up indicating willingness to undertake any of these projects. Such an SEA activity could be justified under the rubric that the SEA knows somehow which type of Title III projects is best for the state in general. But in this case, no such justification of projects throughout the state seems to be the governing concern.*

Another example of the project selection process will illustrate the way in which "political" pressures dictate which proposals get funded. In one state in our sample, proposals submitted to the review board were rank ordered according to funding priority. However, in this SEA, it was a traditional practice to weight the evaluator's scores by district "importance" in order to obtain a political distribution of projects throughout the state before the list was submitted to the CSSO for approval.

This past year the list was forwarded unweighted to the CSSO, so that the geographical distribution of projects was not considered. After reviewing the list of recommended projects, the CSSO noted that a large city within the state would receive no new Title III funding that year. The CSSO telephoned the superintendent of the large city to say that the city would receive a Title III project that year only because the CSSO had intervened on its behalf. Thus the CSSO managed to place the city's superintendent of schools in his debt, a debt that might be called due at some future time.

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*In another state, where proposal/project quality was the dominating concern in funding, the Title III director expressed concern over this procedure. He noted that those districts who were able to maintain full-time "grantsmen" on their staffs were more likely to submit top-notch proposals. ("They know the language; they know what to say and how to say it.") After noting that some districts (the financially capable ones) received funding time after time, this individual expressed his qualified contention that it might be a good idea to award Title III funding on a random basis.

It should be noted that while the CSSO has the authority to make the final decision about which Title III projects receive funding, he sometimes allows others to make this decision for him. For example, some CSSOs simply rubber-stamp recommendations of the State Advisory Council, or its counterpart. In such cases, it seems clear that the council has the final say on which projects get funded.

In other instances, however, the council itself rubber-stamps SEA review panel recommendations about funding so that the SEA review panel, in effect, makes funding decisions based on procedures it has developed.

Of course, in several instances the State Advisory Council alters the recommendations of the SEA review board and, as has been pointed out, there are times when the CSSO fails to follow the funding recommendations of any subordinate review group.

It should be noted that while all SEA Title III decisions probably are made under varying degrees of political/geographical pressure, some SEAs seem to insulate themselves from this pressure more efficiently than others. In one instance, the Title III staff buffers itself from political interference by offering to submit any and all suggestions made about funding for consideration by its State Advisory Council. The potential airing that any political influences might get before this forum largely serves to have any suggestions about funding that are made by an elected or appointed official rapidly withdrawn.

PROJECT MANAGEMENT

Once funding decisions have been made, the SEA Title III staff takes on the task of monitoring project progress. In some instances, the SEA strives to have each LEA set up its own project management plan. The role of the SEA then becomes supervising the local project management system and seeing to it that the project adheres to the pursuit of the stated goals or that goal statements are modified to reflect what may optimally be achieved in view of local problems that may arise during the project's duration. In other words, the goals of the project may be modified (usually made less ambitious) as a result of on-site project experience. In another case, projects are accepted for funding and given a six-month planning grant to set up management procedures and refine goal statements. During this period, LEA personnel work with SEA staff to refine the quality of the final project design statement. Since all proposals receiving a six-month planning grant are virtually assured of funding for an extended time cycle, the SEA in this state has a say in management practices in all projects from their inception.

SEA Title III staff try to visit all funded projects within the state on a fairly regular basis. (Twice a year is the visitation schedule most frequently mentioned.) However, because Title III staff are usually not adequate to implement the schedule they would like to follow, modifications in the number of visitations are frequently made. Visitations may be concentrated on first-year projects, so that on-going projects may not be visited during a particular year. Or, visitations may take on a token nature with an SEA consultant making fly-by appearances at as many as twenty projects during the course of the year.

PROJECT EVALUATION

Evaluation is an integral part of the Title III funding process. However, evaluation strategies vary across the SEAs contacted. Evaluations may be conducted by the LEA staff itself, in which case one staff member is called "Evaluation Specialist" or some analogous sobriquet. This individual is charged with conducting either a formative or summative (or both) evaluation of the project.

In other cases, the LEA may enter into a contract with an outside independent evaluation body to perform project evaluation. (A part of the grant to the LEA is frequently earmarked for evaluation services.)

Still another evaluation strategy involves SEA organization of an evaluation unit to visit funded projects and to make judgments about their operation and suggestions for improvement where necessary. All of these evaluation methodologies may be used singly or in combination with one another. The question, of course, is "What good do these evaluations do?"

The positive aspects of these evaluations are that they provide feedback to project managers and the SEA about successful aspects of projects as well as about those project activities that are not working out so well. (Both kinds of information are valuable since it is equaliy worthwhile to know which innovations will not work in a given LEA situation as it is to know which innovations will work. As one SEA official succinctly put it, "All of our projects have the right to fail. . . .")

On the other hand, if the evaluation procedure is seen as the touchstone against which project continuation is tried, then its success is open to question. Not that the project evaluations themselves are inadequately done, given the resources devoted to them. Rather, there appears to be some dysfunction in the interface of the project funding/evaluation process. In many cases, second-year funding deadlines precede first-year evaluation deadlines. In such a case, the

SEA may find itself faced with the problem of deciding on funding continuation of a particular project in the absence of a full evaluation report. Since most SEAs contacted prefer to fund continuing projects rather than newly proposed projects, second-year funding may be allocated virtually by default. Second-year projects may receive funding before their evaluations are received by the SEA simply because, like the mountains, "they were there."

But second-year funding sets a peculiar project inertia into effect. Since Title III generally operates on a three-year funding cycle, funding a project for the first two years of its existence usually constitutes the larger percentage of fiscal outlay by the funding agency. Termination of a funded project by the SEA after the second year of project operation may present some awkward alternatives to the state-based staff. It may, in fact, be simpler for the SEA to fund the third year, despite indications of project failure, than it would be to discontinue funding at this time. Of course, projects should have "the right to fail," but it seems legitimate to ask how long Title III should be used to fund failure.

From the standpoint of the LEA, however, failure to receive a grant for the full three-year funding cycle constitutes a "breach of contract" by the funding agency--in this case the SEA.* After all, since the LEA had originally predicated project success on the basis of a three-year funding design, it may claim that termination of funding before the full three years are completed makes achievement of project goals impossible.

This notion of "project inertia" may explain why so few projects are terminated because of poor evaluations.** Evaluation procedures are simply not adequate indicators of whether or not funding of a project should continue. Evaluators tend to deliver "too little, too late" to the body faced with making the funding continuation decision.

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*It is interesting to note that if a hierarchy of funding agencies is generated, each stratum in the hierarchy views the one above it as a monolithic collective, and blames unfavorable occurrences on them. For example, the SEAs tend to report that "they" (some federal monolith) reneged on the IVD procedure. Similarly, some LEAs feel that "the state" is unsympathetic to their concerns and should readjust "its" thinking about what they (the LEA) want to do.

**Projects are sometimes terminated at the request of the LEA for a number of reasons; e.g., key personalities have left the district, project goals are no longer consonant with district goals, etc.

FUNDING

SEAs have developed a series of strategies for dealing with the uncertainty of receiving continuing Title III funds. The most common complaint voiced by SEA Title III officers was that funding uncertainty made long-range planning difficult. However, there was no reported instance in which this issue had a crippling impact on the program. In some instances, SEAs simply assume that Title III funds will be forthcoming from the federal government and base their estimate of the magnitude of funding on previous years' experience. On this basis, they proceed with the project generation/selection procedure reported earlier.

In other cases, SEAs manipulate the Title III funds they have already received to plan for future contingencies. In one state, where priority is given to funding on-going projects to completion (so that the full effect of the project may be properly assessed), the SEA staff has set aside sufficient funds to see to it that all projects currently in operation could be funded to completion even in the face of a total cessation of federal funding. In another SEA, proposals for the current year are funded with monies left over from the previous year. As a result of this on-going practice, the SEA maintains a fund of unencumbered dollars that it may use to operate its Title III projects in the event of an unexpected turn in the course of federal funding. It seems clear that many SEA Title III officials are aware of the capriciousness of federal funding and have taken steps to see to it that they are able to continue to follow their own agendas should such funding be reduced or cut off completely.

The issue of whether an SEA chooses to fund a few large projects or many smaller ones seems related to SEA concern over following political/geographical funding guidelines. Obviously, a state that wants to have a Title III project in every LEA in the state must spread its funding out rather thinly to meet this geographic dispersion criterion. As a result, such a state would have many relatively small projects. On the other hand, an SEA whose prime concern is "project quality" would have no set pattern in distributing its funds and might fund few large projects or many smaller ones. However, given the uniformity of the response by state Title III officers that magnitude of funding is unrelated to project success, and the concurrent report that funding "quality" proposals is the best way to ensure successful projects, the procedure of "shotgun" funding to cover a large geographic area with many small projects (regardless of project "quality") seems to allow many more projects "the right to fail."

DISSEMINATION OF PROJECT RESULTS

The urge to disseminate information about funded projects seems to vary from one extreme at the local level to another at the federal level. When LEAs receive Title III funding, they seem inclined to broadcast news of their project and its progress by means of any forum available. Since Title III funding probably represents a large expenditure of local time and energy, each LEA tends to be quite anxious to tell everyone of its success.

At the federal level, there is naturally much less enthusiasm over the funding of an individual project. It seems clear that the federal officials cannot be familiar with any large proportion of funded projects simply because of the large number of projects in operation throughout the country. As a result, there is a degree of reluctance on the part of federal officials to disseminate news of successful projects on a nationwide basis.*

SEAs tend to fall within these two extremes of opinion on the dissemination issue. Some SEAs allow and encourage dissemination of project activities and results both within and outside of the funded LEA. Others allow dissemination of project activities within district boundaries but control dissemination activities aimed at a wider audience. Overall, SEA stances on project dissemination range from tight control to laissez-faire, depending on whether the SEA dissemination philosophy is more closely akin to that of the typical LEA or to that of the DRP.

SEA ATTITUDES TOWARD FEDERAL GUIDELINES

In our interviews we asked state program officers, "What effect, if any, has the federal program staff or the federal guidelines had on the nature of the program as you have implemented it here?"** The reactions were mixed.

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*This position taken by the federal government may explain in part the absence of dissemination funds in the IVD procedure, as well as the posture taken by the Dissemination Review Panel. The DRP's stance on dissemination of successful projects has been compared to the position of the Food and Drug Administration on giving approval to drugs for public consumption. The analogy goes like this: Just as the FDA will not approve a particular drug for distribution until it is certain of its effects, neither will the DRP approve a project for dissemination until certain of its effects. After all, it is much harder to "recall" a project once it hits the educational marketplace than it is to stop the distribution and sale of a drug. This analogy could be extended, but the major point has been made.

**This question did not prove applicable for the Title VII and Right-To-Read programs for organizational reasons.

Four respondents remarked that they follow the guidelines to the letter, whereas another four noted that the guidelines were supportive. Individual states noted the following:

State 1: "The guidelines made LEAs aware of the need for change."

State 2: "Requirements kept money from being absorbed into a pool of funds for operations."

State 3: "The guidelines made us (the SEA) recognize our responsibility for being a change agent rather than a regulatory agency.... The stress on evaluation motivated specialists (in the SEA) to appear who haven't before.... The emphasis at the LEA level to evaluate caused increasing LEA sophistication. The stress on critical needs not only caused the state to perform a needs assessment, but also caused the local level to begin a rather sophisticated attempt to assess critical needs."

State 4: "If there were no link (a reference to the State Plan), the quality in the states would be much lower."

Other Title III coordinators found the federal guidelines too constraining. This chafing is not too surprising since Title III guidelines do specify managerial procedures to the states.

CONFLICTS

In Title III, management of local projects is delegated to the SEA, but the process for managing projects is specified by OE. Complaints by Title III coordinators often verge upon bitter.

IVD

Of the eighteen state coordinators interviewed, thirteen reported conflict with OE over federal management style. Over half the states interviewed were angry about federal management of the Identification, Validation, and Dissemination instrument (IVD).

One state refused to participate in the federal IVD scheme, which was used for the first time in 1972. Participants saw this federal venture as a diluted version of their own successful program, and since OE was not putting any dissemination money into the plan, they saw no reason to participate. Two states complained that the panel of reviewers had to be out-of-state personnel. Yet another state used the IVD only under pressure from OE. As their coordinator described, "The plan only got to the 'I' [the states were responsible for identification] since the feds gave no money for the D."

Six other states expressed anger, not about the instrument itself or the procedures involved, but about the aftermath of the IVD procedure. These states uniformly described initial enthusiasm for the IVD and felt that this was the first time OE had taken an active leadership role in the program. Apparently, the states participated in what they thought was a serious validation effort. However, because of internal problems in OE, other federal offices refused to recognize this particular validation procedure. As a result, the states described "the laborious IVD activity actively sabotaged by OE."

As one state described, "There is no consumer protection policy. Every office in Washington [e.g., NIE, Dissemination Review Panel, Title III] has its own bag [validation procedure]." One state, for example, validated 12 projects. The Dissemination Review Panel would only review two of them, and rejected the others "because they weren't written up in the proper form." Another state described a project that had gone through several validations for different purposes in the past year. At each new validation, the project was told the previous validation did not "count."

In summary, federal policies about dissemination of successful projects have caused major conflicts between the states and federal program staff. The states view federal policy as inadequate and inconsistent. Most states liked the idea of a validation procedure and are using the results of the IVD even though they perceive "Washington [as] not using the results of anything."

In the aftermath of the IVD, many states are uncertain as to whether they will again participate in a national validation. Some plan to make the validation procedure an in-state operation. In what will mean a major policy change, the New Jersey SEA Title III staff has asked the state legislature for $500,000 to disseminate projects validated by the procedure to be chosen by their Advisory Council. They expect this legislation to be passed next year.

The State Plan

Legislation requires the states to annually submit a detailed plan describing how they will manage their program. Six of the Title III states interviewed reported conflict with OE over this procedure.* Respondents felt that an annual update of the old state plan rather than a new plan each year would be both more

*Not surprisingly, those states with the most specific program goals were the ones most likely to criticize federal program management.

meaningful and more practical. These states felt that the guidelines for writing a state plan were too specific. They reported that this detailed direction led them either to create a "grammatical fiction" in order to get funding or to be led "to mediocrity and sameness by such specificity." One state regarded the state plan as OE's birch rod for paddling the state when federal program officers were displeased.

III. SYNTHESIS OF CASE STUDIES, PART A: CLASSROOM ORGANIZATION

Milbrey Wallin McLaughlin

INTRODUCTION

In 1961, Henry M. Brickell found that few schools tended to adopt innovations that embodied changes in the present structural framework.* He observed that few innovations required changes in the kind of people employed, in staffing patterns, in the types of instructional materials they used, or in the times and places at which they taught.

Many believe that without such changes, innovations are unlikely to lead to changes in what happens to students. Warren G. Bennis argues that significant change or innovation requires changes in relationships and organizational systems: "...the only viable way to change organizations is to change their 'culture,' that is to change the systems within which people work and live. A 'culture' is a way of life, a system of beliefs and values, an accepted form of interaction and relating."** From that viewpoint the curriculum reform movement of the 1950s and early 1960s and the innovations of the "Education Decade" (which is now drawing to a close) have been disappointing because they did not seek to change the organizational "culture" or existing organizational framework, but instead sought to offer

*Organizing New York State for Educational Change, Commissioner of Education, State Department of Education, Albany, New York, 1961.

**Organization Development: Its Nature, Origins and Prospects, Addison-Wesley Publishing Company Inc., Reading, Massachusetts, 1969.

DESCRIPTION OF CASE STUDY SITES

Eastown is a typical northeastern suburban residential community, with one-family neatly landscaped homes. The people are politically conservative, and the school population of 12,000 is almost entirely white.

Centerville is a small town located in the rolling farm country in the upper Midwest. People earn their living at a small prestige college, on farms, as tradesmen, or as professionals. A third of the district's 10,000 inhabitants are black.

Sandwood is one of the largest cities in the Southwest, sprawling over a wide area. The school population of 125,000 represents a wide range of socioeconomic status, with a high rate of mobility, a large proportion of Mexicans, and an increasing number of blacks.

Seaside is another large sprawling southwestern city. The school under study, Roosevelt, is located in a middle to upper middle-class area that for years has been stable and predominantly Jewish. Today, black families are moving in and white families out, at a transiency rate of 50 percent.

Northwood is an important city in the Northeast. Its population of over 100,000 is predominantly white Irish Catholic and engaged in shipping and trade. As the old downtown area decays, the whites move to the suburbs. Blacks constitute a tenth of the city's population and a third of that in public schools.

new ways of doing things with little regard for schools' organizational patterns or for what teachers and principals thought or felt.

Since about 1970, however, social engineers, disappointed with the failures of new technology, have focused on strategies that attempt to alter the culture of the school, to redefine the ways that students, teachers, parents, and administrators relate to each other, and to revise the assumptions about children and learning that underlie classroom practices. Encouraged and stimulated by the work of such writers as Joseph Featherstone, Charles Silberman, and William Glasser, some educators have turned to changes in classroom organization such as open education, multiage grouping, the integrated day, differentiated staffing, and team teaching. This movement is not based on a "model" of classroom organization to be slavishly followed, but on a common set of convictions about the nature of learning, the purpose of teaching, and the place of childhood. These philosophical similarities, which can be traced to the work of the Swiss psychologist Piaget, have produced new views about the process of educating children, and a conviction that a humanistic, individualized, and child-centered process of education requires more than incremental or marginal changes in classroom organization and technology. Proponents of this view believe that radical changes are required in the role of the teacher, the teacher's relationship to children and other teachers, and the use of classroom materials and space.

This approach to education stresses the individuality of each teacher and the individuality of each child. Therefore, it is unlikely that any open classroom, team of teachers, or differentiated staffing plan will function in exactly the same way. Projects that have been successful in these classroom organization strategies have permitted and encouraged flexibility and individuality on the part of the teachers.

From another perspective, of course, all this is simply more of the same. Once the social engineers, determined to reshape children and society closer to their particular visions, found that packaged technologies couldn't do the job, they then began to intervene directly with behavior. Opponents of the open classroom argue that it is in effect an attempt to subvert society, to build a new world that society, by endorsing its present system of schooling, has in effect rejected. It is not our function, in this report, to discuss the social implications of educational reform, but there is no doubt that the open classroom does imply changes in people's relations to each other.

Social philosophy aside, if degree of "innovativeness" is to be judged by the amount of change a particular innovation assumes for principal actors, and for

organizational procedures, then those projects attempting to implement changes in classroom organization have undertaken innovation of the highest order. This type of innovation is also the most difficult because it requires changes in attitudes and values, which is more difficult than learning a new skill or substituting a new educational technology.

We visited five different school districts to study five Title III projects that aimed to change classroom organization. Three of the projects -- Seaside, Sandwood, and Eastown -- focused on strategies of informal education: multiage grouping, open education, and integrated curricula. A fourth, Centerville, focused mainly on implementing team teaching and differentiated-staffing plans. The fifth project, the Storefront School in Northwood, tried to establish an alternative form of secondary education for educational and psychological dropouts. The Storefront School was organized along the principles of open education. Participants and evaluators thought that all these projects were successful. And, although each project (and indeed classrooms within each project) differed, all of them evinced similar attitudes and beliefs about the process of education. The following synthesis will attempt to bring out the differences in initiation, implementation, and impact of each project and to identify common factors and lessons.

All five of these projects tried to change classroom organization. Four of them worked within the existing school system; one was established as an alternative to the public schools. The Sandwood project, Multiage Grouping in Early Childhood Education, employed open education strategies in a project which experimented with multiage grouping and the inclusion of four year olds in 19 primary classrooms throughout the city. Roosevelt School in Seaside tried to introduce open classroom practices throughout the school. Eastown's Moon Project was undertaken to "change over" two elementary schools from traditional to informal or open classroom practices. Project TANDEM at Centerville attempted to initiate team teaching and differentiated staffing for 50 percent of the faculty and students in the district's three elementary schools. The Storefront School in Northwood was started as an alternative school for secondary school dropouts. Its curriculum and practices adhere to the principles of open or informal education. These projects are complex and require the cooperation and support of the entire adopting unit (even nonparticipating teachers and administrators), and require major change in attitudes, goals and behavior.

Rogers and Shoemaker have identified characteristics of innovation which are thought to make adoption or diffusion more or less likely:

- Ease of explanation and communication to others (communicability).
- Possibility of a trial on a partial or limited basis (divisibility; ability to delay commitment).
- Difficulty of use (complexity).
- Congruence with existing values (consonance or compatibility).
- Intrinsic superiority over practices that existed previously (relative advantage).

Innovations that focus on classroom organization are at odds with all of these criteria. First, since there is no specific "model" to be followed, it is difficult to tell people how these approaches operate. Advocates can only offer general advice and communicate the philosophy or attitudes that underlie innovation in classroom organization and activities.

Second, although open classroom or team teaching strategies can be implemented slowly, and can be installed in just one or two classrooms in a school, it is generally not possible to be "just a little bit" open or just a "sometime" part of a team teaching situation. The method is based on changing, which is hard to do piecemeal.

Third, change in a classroom organization is exceedingly complex. It requires new attitudes, roles, and behavior on the part of teachers and administrators, new arrangement of classroom space, new instructional materials, and usually, new school scheduling and reporting practices.

Fourth, strategies of open education or team teaching are a radical departure from the traditional or standard practices of a school, district, or teacher. Change in classroom organization (particularly of the type observed in these projects) means changing deeply held attitudes and customary behavior. These projects, by attempting to change organizational structure and goals, attempt to affect the fundamental nature of the organization.

Fifth, although proponents naturally argue that humanistic, child-centered education represents a big advance, the objective evidence is ambiguous. Most evaluations of informal classrooms conclude that participating children do better on affective measures, but there is little evidence of significant cognitive differences that could be attributed to open classrooms themselves. Thus, an administrator contemplating a change in classroom organization is confronted with a

complicated innovation which shows no clear advantage over existing practice -- at least in the ways that often matter to school boards, voters, and anxious parents.

INITIATION

Source of the Idea

In four of the five projects, the project director introduced the idea for the project. In Sandwood, the present project director (a former elementary school principal) in collaboration with a primary school teacher and a district curriculum consultant, had the idea for a pilot project which subsequently became the Title III project in Multiage Grouping for Early Childhood Education. In Seaside and Eastown, the present project director brought the idea to the district's attention. The Seaside project director was principal of the school that was to undertake the project. The Eastown project director was an outsider. The original project director and the president of the Urban League jointly conceived of the idea of the Storefront School. The idea for Centerville's Project TANDEM was first outlined by the new superintendent.

Motivation or stimulus for the project idea and proposal development were somewhat different for each district. In Sandwood and Eastown, the project was conceived as a way to demonstrate that open education was feasible, and also more desirable, effective, and humane than traditional schooling. In addition, Sandwood intended to use project funds to experiment with including pre-kindergarten children in the public primary schools. In the other districts we visited, the idea for the project was a response to perceived need in the district. The Roosevelt project in Seaside responded to teacher demands that "something be done" about student attitudes and to teachers' feelings that they were not being effective with present practices. The Centerville superintendent, who had recently been brought to the district with a mandate from the community and school board to change the schools and shake up the system, proposed the TANDEM project as a way to meet these demands. The Storefront School in Northwood was initiated by two persons who knew the community well and felt school had nothing to offer dropouts or potential dropouts. The Storefront School was established to meet what its initiators perceived as an important unmet need in the community.

Although these projects demanded extensive change, none of the moving spirits explicitly considered alternative (and possibly less unsettling) strategies.

Role of Title III

In none of the districts we visited did the initiation and development of the Title III project appear to be an opportunistic response to the availability of federal funds. In Sandwood, the funds were seen as a way to expand and demonstrate a successful pilot project. In Seaside, Title III funds were used to implement an idea that administration, staff, and parents had agreed on. The Centerville superintendent had been searching for ways to bring about change in his district and drew the idea for his Title III project from a list of state Title III priorities. In Eastown, Title III was primarily a device for bringing change to a very conservative school district without committing district funds for changes that the community really did not seek. The Storefront School saw Title III funds simply as a way to survive. SEA Title III support for the project overcame district resistance to this alternative school.

In summary, in all of the districts except Centerville, the project idea was formulated and then funds were sought. In Centerville, the commitment to change was made and then substantive direction and a funding source was identified in ESEA, Title III.

Participation in Proposal Development

Although user participation has come to be considered the "general law of innovation" (Havelock), and broad participation in project development has become regarded as the sine qua non of innovation (Giacquinta), the projects we visited were not always participatory.

In the districts we studied, participation ranged from a "high" in Sandwood, where the school community--parents, teachers, building administrators, and district level personnel--were all involved in developing the proposal, to a "low" in Eastown where the proposal was prepared by the project director only, with some help from the district director of elementary education. The Seaside proposal was written by the project director, with some help from his faculty. The Centerville proposal involved the superintendent and the director of child studies. In Northwood, the proposal was written by the initiator of the idea and the project director with assistance from teachers, students, and parents.

Planning

Planning for the implementation of the Title III projects also varies across districts. In Sandwood and Northwood, there was very little explicit planning because Title III money funded a going project.* Eastown and Centerville both spent the previous spring planning for implementation.** The Seaside project had no time to plan because the director did not learn that funds had been awarded until the month before the project began.

Selection of Sites and Participants

Teacher participation was voluntary in all these projects. In Seaside, Eastown, and Centerville, teachers in project schools could choose to participate or to continue with their present practices. In Sandwood a district administrator identified teachers who might flourish under informal education strategies, and invited them to participate in the Title III project. Teachers for the Storefront School were either recruited by project initiators, or were volunteers interested in the precepts and objectives of the school.

The selection of project school principals was not an issue in Northwood, Centerville, or Seaside. In Sandwood, principals had to participate. Project administrators were required to establish project classrooms in each school board member's district, and also to include some Title I schools. A staff member recalls that about one-third of the principals supported the project, one-third opposed it, and one-third were indifferent.

Principals of the Eastown project schools were selected differently. One principal was asked to involve his school in the project because he was thought to be a strong leader, "anxious to try something new." His school's layout was better suited to open education strategies than any other in the district. The other principal was asked because she was a new principal who, in the opinion of district administrators, needed development and support. She had a very strong staff that would help her to implement the project successfully. Although the project schools were primarily chosen on the basis of their principals, Eastown district

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*In both these districts, there was communication between project administrators and participants.

**Planning for the Eastown project was done almost single-handedly by the project director; the project design was presented to the staff more or less as a *fait accompli*. Initiators of the Centerville project very self-consciously consulted with district personnel at all levels as the project was planned and developed.

administrators also gave some attention to the type of families served by these schools. Both schools were located in predominately Jewish neighborhoods; in this very conservative community, it was expected that these parents would be most likely to accept innovation.

Support/Opposition

There was no clear pattern of support or opposition in the districts we visited. Support or opposition primarily reflects the idiosyncracies of the district.

In Sandwood, a district that promotes innovation generally, district officials supported the project; parents in the community served by the pilot project were enthusiastic. The only opposition to the project came from some project principals, who disagreed with the educational philosophy underlying the program. Principals who believed in control and discipline were uncomfortable with the informal, child-centered project classrooms.

In Seaside, a decentralized district, there was support from downtown only in procedural details. The district Title III office did not play much of a role in the project. Project school parents -- middle-class, well-educated professionals -- were highly supportive, volunteering time and talent. Project staff believes that the area superintendent has subtly opposed the project, either because of philosophical differences, or because of his professional jealousy of the Roosevelt School principal. The area superintendent has ignored the project, but has never actively opposed it.

Staff, students, and the community have enthusiastically supported the Storefront School. The district, however, has at the least been less than enthusiastic. But it was the SEA that really bullied the district into accommodating the project by providing funds through somewhat unofficial channels and bending rules and regulations in response to Northwood's footdragging.

Eastown and Centerville, each for different reasons, faced very little active opposition to their projects. In politically conservative Eastown, citizens are generally satisfied with their schools and don't pay much attention to school affairs. A minority of the school board opposes the project on philosophical (or political) grounds. At first, a number of parents in the project schools were concerned about their children's academic progress in an open classroom, and some fathers were afraid their sons would not learn about "competition." But these fears have abated. The superintendent and the director of elementary education were able to mollify project teachers when mutiny threatened.

In contrast to Eastown, the Centerville community is not satisfied with the quality of its schools and has been active in demanding change. The community, teachers, and administrators almost unanimously supported the goals and methods of the project.

Role of the Popular Press

As a footnote, it is worth mentioning the role that the press played in stimulating and supporting these Title III projects. In Sandwood, Seaside, Eastown, and Centerville, initiators of Title III projects found articulation of their own beliefs and stimulus for the project in the work of Featherstone, Glasser, and in the 1970 Saturday Review articles on open education. In each district, we were told that these books and articles played a central part in formulating ideas for the project and in gathering support for the concept among district personnel.

IMPLEMENTATION

Project Characteristics

In the open classroom projects, teachers were expected to stop being traditional "dispensers of knowledge" and become child-centered "facilitators" and "coordinators." Children, in response to these changed teacher behaviors, were expected to display more favorable attitudes toward school, and assume their own responsibilities for learning. It was anticipated that these changes would enable students to progress at not less than their previous rates of growth on standardized achievement tests.*

Because this type of innovation requires changes in attitudes, values, and roles, it cannot be specified or packaged in advance. Teachers are expected to work out their own styles and techniques within a broad philosophical approach. Therefore, project implementation is an exercise in "learning by doing." The fact that there are no rigid guidelines characteristically plagues attempts to change classroom organization practices. The first year, in all of these projects, was very difficult; teachers became discouraged, overtired, and overworked, and often

*Advocates of open education strategies argue that existing standardized achievement tests are inappropriate as measures of the gains achieved in the informal setting. Children in this environment, it is alleged, are learning different sorts of skills than those measured by the present tests (i.e., skills in problem solving, conceptualization, etc.).

wondered if their efforts were worthwhile. It is not surprising that successful implementation of these Title III projects had little to do with "things"--but a lot to do with the support and encouragement of teachers attempting to implement change.

Factors Important to Successful Implementation

Ewald B. Nyquist, Chief State School Officer for New York State and long-time proponent of open education strategies, has listed the components of successful implementation of child-centered, open education practices:*

1. The involvement of parents, teachers and administrators at every step.
2. Meaningful in-service education activities for teachers and other school personnel.
3. Built-in personal support for each teacher, including the approval and encouragement of the administrator; at least one other teacher who shares the same attitude and goals; and hopefully someone similar to a "teaching head" who comes into the classroom as a co-worker, not supervisor.
4. Patience to allow the philosophy to become actualized through gradual program development, recognizing the individuality of the teacher's learning as well as the child's.
5. Tolerance of flexibility--even confusion at times--in regard to schedules, use of space, etc.

With the exception of Nyquist's first criterion, broad based school and community participation,** the projects we visited suggest the same criteria. For example, in each of these projects, someone in the district has been able to provide direct assistance and support to project teachers. In one district, this role was played by the project resource teacher, who spent part of each day in one of the 19 project classrooms observing what happened and offering help and sympathy. She reports that in the first year of the project, she spent as much as an additional seven hours a day on the telephone with project teachers. Although she feels that she did give professional help to the project teachers, the resource teacher believes that her primary role, chosen deliberately, was as a "hand-holder"--giving teachers the personal support they needed to get through a totally new experience. After the first year, the project resource teacher reports that requests for help decreased

*Nyquist and Gene R. Hawes, Open Education, Bantam Books Inc., New York, 1972.

**See earlier discussion of planning and proposal development.

dramatically. Almost all of her subsequent contacts with project teachers related to specific and practical classroom concerns. In the third year of the project, she reports that project teachers expressed little need for her help. For the resource teacher, the first year of project operations was a labor of love and extracted an enormous amount of time and energy, much more than could be expected from the average professional. But the Title III project was an extension of the pilot project she had developed and, in her creative zeal, she made no complaints about the demands made.

In another district (Eastown), this support came from the director of elementary education. Teachers resented the project director and the heavy workload, but the director of elementary education was able to secure teachers' loyalty, give them personal support and encouragement for their efforts, and keep the project together until project teachers had built up confidence and conviction. In Centerville the project director played a similar role.

This was not the case in the Seaside Roosevelt School project. Intellectually and rhetorically, the principal (who was also the project director) strongly supported the efforts of his staff to introduce open education. But despite his expressed attitudes and recognized expertise (he has written several books on open education), his behavior and relations with staff and students were not congruent with the practices he preached. He insisted on maintaining ultimate control and authority, did not encourage genuine staff participation and flexibility, and did not lead his staff to trust him emotionally. In our opinion, the shallow implementation of open classroom precepts in this school is partially a result of this situation. The faculty couldn't seem to get past the first step of implementation--rearrangement of classroom furniture and restructuring of instructional components. In most of these classrooms, we saw few consequent changes in attitudes and behavior.

In Northwood, all school teachers "believed in the cause" and volunteered for their job.

Development of Materials

In each of these projects, the staff spent a substantial amount of time developing materials to use in the project classrooms. These materials were developed from scratch or put together from bits of commercially developed materials. Although these activities were undertaken because the staff felt it couldn't locate commercial materials, we believe that the real contribution was psychological--providing the staff with a sense of involvement and mutual support. Working together to develop materials for the project gave the staff a sense of pride in its

own accomplishments, a sense of "ownership" in the project, an opportunity to think through the concepts which underlay the project, and an important chance to communicate with other members of the staff. It broke down the traditional isolation of the classroom teacher and provided a sense of "professionalism" and cooperation not usually available in the school setting.

We believe, therefore, that the major value of curriculum material development lies not in the product produced, but in the social and psychological support it provides for project staff. It also seems to us that, in this respect, it may be desirable and cost-effective for innovative projects to "reinvent the wheel." Attempts to replicate the success of a particular project by "packaging," in the pursuit of efficiency, the wheels so reinvented would be, in this perspective, a waste of time.

Staff Development

All projects included both formal and informal staff development. Centerville's formal training took place in a two-week summer session before the project began. This project's informal development activities have been extensive, providing for almost constant interaction between project staff. Sandwood, Eastown, and Northwood provided preservice training. The Sandwood training included observations in the pilot project classrooms. Some of the Eastown staff participated in a trip to observe British infant schools. The Storefront School staff had group sessions about effective education. These projects have also conducted regular workshops and staff meetings. The Seaside project had no preservice training or site visits, probably because funding notification came so late. Consequently, this staff had to try to implement an almost unknown educational strategy. During the school year, the project provided two site visits for each project teacher, three weekend retreats, and monthly workshops.

Gross has commented that where innovations fail, particularly innovations in classroom organization, they have failed because their planners have overlooked the "resocialization" of teachers. Even willing teachers have to go through such a process in order to develop new attitudes, behavior, and skills for a radically new role. Project staffs agree that staff development and training activities are a critical part of successful implementation. They also agree that some kinds of development activities are more useful than others. Visits by consultants and other "experts" were not considered particularly helpful. Teachers complain that most consultants could not relate to the particular problems they were experiencing in their classrooms, or that their advice was too abstract to be helpful. The most

useful sessions were meetings of the project staff in which ideas were shared, problems discussed, and support given. Visits to other schools implementing open classroom concepts were also helpful. The teachers felt that seeing a similar program in operation for just a few hours was worth much more than several days of consultants delivering talks on philosophy.

Incentives

Students of organizational behavior and planned change agree that positive incentives are a good way to get subordinates to change their behavior. In the project we visited, however, such incentives for teachers did not appear to play such a role. In fact, only two of the four projects attempting change in classroom organization provided explicit incentives.

In Sandwood, project teachers received $900 to spend on new materials for their multiage classroom over a three-year period. Participation in the project has also lightened the teacher's classroom load. Aides provide extra help, and the prekindergarten-kindergarten-grade 1 structure means that each teacher has only 10 first graders in the class in the afternoon, thereby increasing the special instructional time which can be offered. In addition, participation in the project provided professional visibility for project teachers within the district and on dissemination trips throughout the state.

Project TANDEM teachers in Centerville received $1600 in extra pay annually for the extra time spent in preparation and meetings. Although some of the nonproject teachers initially resented this extra pay to project teachers, participants report that nonparticipating teachers soon came to feel that the extra money was earned.

In Eastown, Seaside, and Northwood there were no additional incentives provided for project teachers. In Eastown, particularly, we kept wondering why project teachers put up with the long hours of overtime work, frustrations of beginning a new program, the tensions and hostilities surrounding the project leadership, and so on. The role of the director of elementary education was clearly important. He provided teachers with much personal encouragement and support, but he also emphasized their legal and moral obligations in this Title III project. The director himself admits that he more or less bullied project teachers into sticking with the project as mutiny threatened in the first and second years.

In Seaside, where likewise there were no additional incentives for teacher participation in the project, it seemed to us that in the absence of "rewards" a fairly high level of teacher motivation to implement the project was important.

This project, it will be recalled, was started in response to teacher demands that "something be done" about their inability to deal with students as characteristics of the community changed. Furthermore, with few exceptions, the teachers wholeheartedly endorsed a move toward open education. In contrast to Eastown, where effective authority promoted perseverance on the part of teachers, Seaside teachers' own perceived need and motivation to change have provided the impetus to carry out innovative strategies.

Teaching in the Storefront School was initially an act of love, since no funds were available for teachers' salaries.

On the basis of a few observations, we would suggest that the presence of positive incentives or carrots may be a necessary condition to change, but only in the absence of other factors such as motivation or effective authority supporting the innovation. Different incentives or motivations imply different models of change. For example, the project director on Eastown, where authority was necessary to bring about implementation, has explicitly called herself a "negative change agent" and sees her project as representing a "negative model of change" -- or change by imposition of goals and treatments. The other projects typify a more democratic, participatory "positive" model of change. This leads to speculation: do particular institutional settings require particular "models" or approaches to change? Can there be a universally applicable theory or paradigm of the process of successful innovation in the schools?

IMPACT

On Project Classrooms

These Title III projects all resulted in similar changes in classroom organization and atmosphere. In all the project classrooms, interest centers were set up by the teachers. In three of the projects (Sandwood, Centerville, and Eastown), project teachers used the centers effectively to present new concepts and areas of interest. In Seaside, however, the installation of interest centers was often simply pro forma acknowledgement of the precepts and strategies of informal education. To serve its purpose in an open classroom, an interest center should be changed often, exposing students to a rich variety of materials. Some of the interest centers in the schools, however, had not been changed in seven months.

In Northwood, the city became the classroom and the classroom a "clubhouse."

Three projects (Sandwood, Eastown, and Seaside) moved toward increased individual and small group work using multiage material; another (Centerville)

developed minicourses that could respond to student interests. However, Seaside appears to have implemented the child-centered strategies of informal education only rhetorically. Student teachers there report that many teachers initiate the prototypic "small-group-on-a-rug" activities only on Visitors' Day.* In this project, some teachers used the "self-direction" and "individualized" aspects of project strategies to essentially abdicate their responsibility as teacher, leaving children on their own and providing little follow-up or feedback. Nonetheless, project evaluators have rated this project as having successfully implemented open classroom concepts. We suggest that this shallow level of implementation results from inadequate staff development and training rather than malfeasance. Most of this staff seemed to believe sincerely that they were adequately implementing open classroom strategies.

All of these project classrooms were strikingly different from traditional classrooms. Rows of desks were replaced by small clusters of tables and chairs, pillows and rugs, "cubbies" to hold each child's possessions and so on. In most classrooms, students' work replaced teacher-made or commercial display materials in the classroom.

These classrooms also all differed from traditional classrooms in the variety and type of materials available. Few classrooms used commercial series material, but instead made available a wide variety of books, pamphlets, and newspaper articles. Most teachers also used materials they had developed themselves. Each project classroom project differed from others, reflecting the personality and interests of the particular teacher.

On Students

These projects showed the same kinds of effects on students as those reported by other evaluations of open or informal classrooms. There were few significant gains in achievement test scores, but participating students did display significant gains on noncognitive measures of self-concept, attitude toward school, and so on.

In Centerville, TANDEM students have performed consistently better than their cohorts on the standard achievement tests used by the district, although this difference was seldom statistically significant.

In Seaside, project students have barely maintained past performance on standard achievement tests. However, project staff says these results should be interpreted as a "significant impact" because the school population has changed

* This school, incidentally, was the only classroom project visited in which we were not allowed unrestricted access to the school. Here "appointments" were required before we were able even to observe project classrooms.

dramatically over the past four or five years, and students are entering the school with a much lower level of readiness and basic skill acquisition. Without the project, it is argued, the Roosevelt scores would have dropped significantly.

In Eastown, students generally performed at past levels of achievement, although there were some classrooms in which control students out-performed project students.*

In Sandwood, achievement tests indicate that some project classrooms are producing rather dramatic gains (particularly in Title I eligible schools), and others are performing at past rates.

In Northwood, students who were the physical and psychological dropouts from school are now receiving high school degrees.

However, all of us who visited these classroom organization projects are inclined to agree with project advocates and staff that measures of achievement on standardized tests miss the point of these projects, the affective domain. The spirit and involvement of project students were striking. The changes that these projects have supported have (except in Seaside) produced an atmosphere in which children seem happy, curious, totally engaged in what they are doing, and proud of their diverse accomplishments.

These projects also report that absenteeism is down, that referrals to educationally mentally retarded programs have dropped, that behavior problems in the classrooms have almost vanished--particularly for the hyperactive child--and that "hard to reach" students are blooming. Each project also offered extensive testimonials from parents about their satisfaction with their children's attitudes toward school and themselves.

On Teachers

Four projects (Sandwood, Centerville, Northwood, and Eastown) had similar effects on teachers' attitudes and behavior:

- Increase in cooperative behavior and teamwork.
- Increase in "risk-taking behavior," or willingness to try new ideas.
- Willingness and ability to create new curriculum materials.
- Increase in sense of "professionalism" and pride in accomplishments.

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*These data are available only for the first year of the project. Control groups were dropped in the second and third years, so such comparisons were not possible.

- Change in actual and perceived relationship with children (i.e., from "dispenser of knowledge" to "facilitator of learning").
- Better relations with parents.

Project teachers agreed that they could "never return to the traditional classroom." In this sense, then, in classroom organization projects incorporation occurs concurrently with successful implementation.

On the District

In evaluating Ford Foundation Lighthouse Projects, evaluators found that there was almost no dissemination of the strategies within the districts. Diffusion or dissemination, where it could be identified, took place in districts some distance from the location of the Lighthouse Projects. We made similar observations in these field studies. Some of the project strategies "seeped" into non-project classrooms where all of the classrooms in the school were not participating (Sandwood, Centerville), but these projects did not seem to affect educational practices in the rest of the district. An exception is Centerville where a new administrative structure (replacing building principals with executive teachers) has evolved as a direct result of TANDEM experience.

This is illustrated dramatically in Sandwood. Eliot School is a "model" early childhood education school in the state and is well known throughout the state and even in some national circles as successfully demonstrating multiage, child-centered primary education. As schools compete to receive a share of state early childhood education funds (which stipulate the Eliot approach to primary education), this Title III school has been besieged with visitors seeking ideas for their own schools and ECE proposals. But despite this school's reputation, schools in Sandwood have, for the most part, ignored Eliot's experience and have attempted to develop proposals without visiting the school or consulting with project personnel. The State Superintendent of Instruction has visited Eliot, but the Sandwood Board of Education has never come to see the school. School staffs may find it too threatening to acknowledge the success and accomplishments of a school in their own district--but for whatever reason, the grass seems greener elsewhere when it comes to seeking ideas for new projects. Only principals in those schools with a project classroom report drawing on the experience of this Title III project in writing their proposals.

A similar phenomenon occurred in Eastown. Although the Moon project has recently achieved stature as a nationally validated project, local educators and the community ignore it. Most of the attention paid to the project comes from schoolmen outside the district who are visiting in increasing numbers to observe classrooms in operation and participate in project sponsored training sessions for teachers and principals.

In Seaside, the project has had no observable effect on the district. Most schoolmen are not aware of its existence, and principals who inquire from the area superintendent about Roosevelt activities are told that it's "just a demonstration" and they are not encouraged to visit. Most visitors to this Title III project are from outside the Seaside area.

As a private school, the Storefront School was effectively isolated from the school district. Most visitors to this Title III project are from outside the Northwood School District.

ADAPTATIONS

The projects we visited made similar types of adaptations in their initial designs. Most frequently, these modifications involved a reassessment of goals and the prescribed pace of implementation. All project directors and staff report that initial goals and expectations for staff development were too idealistic and attempted to accomplish too much too quickly. Thus marginal modifications were made in project goals in subsequent years.

The most extensive adaptation took place in the Eastown project, where the original proposal specified that open classroom strategies would be carried out concurrently in two Eastown elementary schools. However, because of philosophical disagreement and personality clashes between the project director and a school principal, one school elected after the first year to in effect drop out of the project. Consequently, one school continued under the project umbrella and increased its repertoire of open classroom activities, while the other school only formally remained in the project and chose to "consolidate" practices already introduced. Furthermore, as a way to facilitate project implementation, the Eastown project also dropped summative evaluation procedures after the first year and instituted formative evaluation to provide feedback to the project staff.

CONTINUATION

All of these projects will continue to operate at some level after federal funds are withdrawn. Only Centerville, however, has solved the fiscal problems that

prevent continuation at the present level in the other districts. Child-centered, individualized instruction relies heavily on the presence of aides to provide extra help in the classroom. By using executive teachers instead of principals to run the schools, Centerville has freed funds for aides within the existing district budget, and so TANDEM will continue as implemented with Title III monies.

Teachers in Sandwood, Eastown, and Seaside report that they "could never go back" to traditional practices; where aides cannot be provided, they will continue the general approach, employing a more structured approach to instruction. In Sandwood, project staff hopes that extra help can be provided by additional volunteers, Title I, or ECE money. Eastown and Seaside staffs say they will have to rely solely on more volunteers. Eastown staff hopes that it can recruit enough parents. The Seaside staff expects that in 1974-75 it will be in the somewhat curious position of being funded to disseminate a project that is no longer in operation. Roosevelt school staff believes that it has already tapped all available parents for help in the classroom.

DISSEMINATION

These classroom organization projects engaged in somewhat different dissemination activities. Seaside, Centerville, and the Storefront School had not actively begun dissemination; they hosted visitors to the project and supplied project information on request. Sandwood and Eastown, however, were active in disseminating project strategies outside the district.

Dissemination strategies in this instance are constrained to some degree by the nature of the projects. Innovation in classroom organization is not a package or a technology; it is a process and a set of beliefs about the nature of learning and childhood. It assumes radical change in organizational behavior, roles, relationships, and philosophy. Accordingly, a commitment to consider implementing these classroom organization changes is not trivial. Indeed it can be argued that districts or administrators who have expressed interest in learning about these strategies are already on the way to the necessary self-renewal. Thus the Sandwood and Eastown dissemination strategies may be effective because they emphasize process and individual development; they are also addressed to people who are ripe for this kind of change. They have two dissemination strategies:

- A traveling "road show" and workshop series.
- An internship program.

Sandwood staff and project parents spend a good portion of the school year traveling to districts throughout the state, outlining the philosophy and practices of their program and answering the questions of teachers, principals, and parents. Eastown employs a similar tactic and also runs a regular series of training sessions for interested teachers and principals. Project staffs at both sites are convinced that "peer" dissemination is best--teachers talking to teachers, principals to principals, and parents to parents. Staffs in both districts have concluded that teachers particularly need a group of "early adopters" who will experiment with a new practice and who can, with support, try, fail, try again, and somehow learn through the process. These teachers, subsequently, are the most effective disseminators of the strategies they have learned. With this in mind, both Eastown and Sandwood have made their staffs available to make numerous return visits to classrooms attempting to implement change in organization--either to give practical advice or simply to "hand-hold."

Both projects also report that their practices have been spread to other districts (or schools within the district) by interns trained in the project. Eastown offers training for student teachers at a nearby university; Sandwood hosts an internship program for teachers from throughout the state.* The project director reports that this program has been extremely successful. But again, in weighing this success, one must consider the initial commitment made by the intern's home district. In order for an intern to attend the Sandwood program, the sending district must be willing to pay for a substitute, travel expenses, as well as the $10 a day honorarium to Sandwood teachers.

In sum, these dissemination strategies have focused on people and the human problems of introducing change. Consequently, a major emphasis has been on providing credible support and encouragement, not just technical assistance. These findings certainly are consistent with the conclusions of Research for Better Schools evaluators who stated: "... whatever the form of the dissemination plan, it must feature people."

*Project teachers are paid $10 a day (by the interns' district) for playing the role of master teacher.

III. SYNTHESIS OF CASE STUDIES, PART B: STAFF DEVELOPMENT

Dale Mann

INTRODUCTION

Many of the projects examined in the fieldwork tried to change the behavior of school personnel. That effort, euphemistically called "staff development," is an important way of fostering educational innovation. In this introduction, we outline some of the reasons for its importance and briefly describe the perspective of political analysis which proved useful in examining these projects.

Reforms in school practice can be encouraged without attempting to change the behavior of school people. Changing institutional control arrangements (e.g., decentralization, citizen participation), changing the configuration of the classroom (open classrooms, corridor schools, schools without walls), and providing new curriculum materials are examples of these efforts. Occasionally, the interest is to make the curriculum "teacher-proof" or to transform the environment so radically that the new environment will automatically reshape behavior.

But reform efforts have increasingly been accompanied by orientation sessions, training programs, technical assistance, and other activities designed to change the educator's behavior more directly. These staff development activities stem from a number of factors. Foremost is the widespread recognition that changing schools is a complex and difficult process. The decade of the sixties aimed quick and simple reform efforts, but these were followed by very little change. One conclusion is that successful innovations are those which carry all the way through

DESCRIPTION OF CASE STUDY SITES

Lewison is a small, essentially rural community near a major midwestern city. Its population is largely white, blue-collar, working class.

Dodson, a southwestern city and one of the largest in the country, has a population of 40 percent black, 40 percent Anglo, and 20 percent Chicano. Many problems commonly associated with urban education are reflected in the Dodson school system and magnified through the state and regional culture of the area.

Wagonia is an outpost of a manufacturing company's empire in the Middle West. The school system serves 35,000 students in 75 schools. Although surrounded by farm country, Wagonia is urban and all of its schools are classified as urban.

Bloomvale, a suburban town within easy commuting distance of a large northeastern city, has grown dramatically the past two decades to its present population of approximately 30,000. It is an all-white, solidly upper-middle-class community with a school population of about 6700.

Metro City is part of a large northeastern metropolitan area in which a complex of enormous, mainly high-rise apartment buildings was recently constructed. Its residents have an expressed concern to create, maintain, and protect their schools.

from the organizational and the institutional elements, and the curriculum features, to the behavior of the delivery level personnel. Since school people control their organizations and determine much of what does or does not happen within the school, they and not the more peripheral supporting aspects of education are the focus of the most successful change efforts.

Other features of the schooling enterprise put staff development at the center of innovation. The decline in pupil enrollment and the public's unwillingness to support further spending for schools are stabilizing the teacher population of many districts. Since it is no longer so easy to improve schools by recruiting new teachers with new credentials (and presumably new skills), performance of the existing stock of teachers must be changed through "development" efforts. Union strictures reinforce these trends. In addition, virtually every teacher and every educational administrator believe that <u>their</u> situation is literally unique and thus feel themselves justified in ignoring any advice or any reforms not consciously tailored to their particular situation. Staff development efforts, being pointed at individuals, help to break through that resistance. The net effect of these forces is to make the staff development activity one of the most important vehicles for change in education.

Our study of staff development recognized that schools are, among other things, small political systems. They are hierarchically organized; they have established, routinized patterns of events; and that hierarchy and those patterns constitute a distribution of benefits or a system of rewards, privileges, and sanctions which is officially maintained. For example, the teaching practices which the principal either encourages or tacitly sanctions through nonintervention represent a large investment of time and effort for lesson planning and preparation. Teachers become adept in that pattern; as it is repeated it takes less effort, and thus they become comfortably attached to that routine. In addition, teaching practices that may work well for children with one sort of learning style may not be as effective with others. Thus the pedagogy itself becomes a distribution of benefits. For these reasons, among others, many salient features of the innovation process can be revealed by adopting a political approach to that phenomenon.

The organization of American schools makes the building administrator the responsible head of the school and therefore confers on him a vital role in educational innovation. The school's current curriculum and practices are very likely to represent the principal's best efforts, and to be a matter of personal pride and professional identification. Proposals for change necessarily tend to challenge existing authority and thereby constitute a process that should be understood for

what it is--potentially conflictive and political. Viewing the staff development aspects of educational change agent programs in this light allows us to examine closely some of the resistance and support that have already affected federal programs.

INITIATION

There is usually a great deal of stress on four factors in the initiation of a project--the existence of a felt need to change, the proponents of the drive for change, and the source and availability of a treatment to adopt or implement.

In only two of the five cases* (Lewison and Dodson) was there a high felt need for change of the sort usually thought to be a necessary precursor to change, and in those cases that conviction never extended to more than a handful of people (2 to 5). Both places were by all accounts very traditional, very conservative, very old-fashioned districts (anti-noise, pro-paddling, teacher-talk, lock-step, etc.).

Another district (Wagonia) represents a middle case. There the project was conceived as an attempt to deal with a desperate situation involving great racial hostilities and severe communications problems between teachers and administrators. But while everyone was aware of broken windows, classroom fires, riots, beatings, and so on, faculty members did not in any sense connect tha ehavior to their own behavior. Thus, although there was a need to do somethin , there was no widely felt need to do what the project set out to accomplish.

The other districts were somewhat more complacent about their somewhat more modern procedures. The need they felt was to get some "free" dollars to do some additional things.

Again, in the two most old-fashioned districts, the project idea was pushed by a small nucleus, almost a cell of concerned individuals. This small cell, which was responsible for the initial identification of the need and the technology to be applied, then provided important leadership continuity through the life of the project. In the other cases, change proponents often recruited project leaders considerably later in the project career.

Three of the five cases imported their project treatments, as lumps, from outside sources. In one successful case (Lewison), the idea was lifted in toto from a graduate school text; in another (Dodson), the ideas were the pet projects of

*Projects ranked in order of their generalized amount of effect are as follows: (1) Lewison (rural Midwest); (2) Dodson (big city, Southwest); (3) Wagonia (medium size, Midwest); (4) Bloomvale (suburb of an eastern metropolis); (5) Metro City (district of an eastern big city).

university people turned practitioners. The third (Bloomvale) was the stock-in-trade of a consulting firm. The close and continuing identity between the sources and the project leadership were important factors in the success or failure of these three cases.

The least successful projects were extensions of practices already in place (Bloomvale and Metro City). While most projects tried hard to convince their trainees that they weren't being asked to consider any very radical departures from the existing practice, and while that façade of merely incremental change seemed important in facilitating acceptance, three of the five projects did try for totally new activities.

Virtually no one ever considered any alternatives except insofar as alternatives were imminent in the backgrounds of project individuals. "Search" seems to have been cursory at best.

Proposal Activities and Planning

The proposal activities probably helped a few people organize their initial ideas, but even in the old-fashioned districts, proposal writing is regarded as a vaguely distasteful grantsmanship necessity which no one takes very seriously.

Changes in funding are regarded with extreme fatalism since the districts know that they will take virtually any amount of money to try to do virtually any tasks. It is usually impossible to specify in advance the course of an intervention in a complex and unknown behavioral system. We don't know enough about behavior to allow detailed advance planning, and the subsequent accountability for the realization of that plan. Two important consequences follow. In most districts people are prematurely skeptical about the possibility of good planning. This cynicism leads people to fall far short of what they could do. In a few cases, the plans that are made are then regarded as a contract or dogma which is rigidly and inappropriately followed.

Widespread planning participation is supposed to be useful but was only tried in one case (Wagonia). There, the organizational development (OD) stress on indigenous change was clearly and persistently subordinated to any other behavioral change prior to realization of attitudinal change. All the trainees plan what, if anything, they want to happen to themselves. Two of the project's three years have been consumed while the population alleged to be in need of training decides how it feels about that and what then is to be done. This lengthy process is justified by reference to the truth-trust relationships which are the sine qua non of significant behavioral change in the eyes of OD advocates.

Most projects have followed the more traditional route of hierarchical participation in planning, limited ordinarily to project administrators, but sometimes including others of the training staff. In the two most conservative districts, where the projects frequently had revolutionary, conspiratorial overtones, any broader involvement would have been ruled out by the prevailing levels of distrust.

Selection of the target group is ordinarily done at the same time and by the same people that determine the "idea" or need for change itself. That is, most ideas seem to be expressed in terms of the need to change some group's behavior. It should be noted that specifying the target group and identifying individuals within the group to be trained are two distinctly different activities. The second activity is an extremely important factor in these projects and is discussed in the Implementation section below (see "Effects of Volunteers"). In no case did target groups select themselves as the needed focus of change.

This is roughly tantamount to the first category above, "Why initiate?" The word "selection" is misleading in that it implies a rational choice among diagnosed alternate points of intervention. Instead, the "selection" is made because it becomes apparent to a few people that a problem exists among some other people or that a resource exists which can be captured by offering the right problem. Examples of the first pattern are the embarrassment and personal/professional commitment felt by the small cells of change initiators (Lewison and Dodson) or the unsettling effects of crises in labor management negotiations, vandalism, drug abuse, and student apathy headlined by newspapers (Wagonia, Bloomvale, and Metro City).

Media attention to school problems, especially reading scores, often seems to stimulate action, but that appearance of cause and effect may be due to the LEA's belief that media-documented and media-dramatized needs will seem more credible to funding agencies. Two cases clearly used their media coverage to increase their probability of funding (Lewison and Bloomvale)--existing resources were captured by selecting the correct problem. The contrast of means governed by goals rather than the goal-seeking ordinarily assumed is apparent.

One of the most important support factors is also one of the most obvious. Successful projects were those in which the same project leaders (a) believed strongly in the need for and effectiveness of the project and (b) communicated that belief at every aspect of the initiation phase. That combination was <u>not</u> present in most cases (Wagonia, Bloomvale, and Metro City).

Support

One of the most successful projects operated without the support of the superintendent whose attitude ranged from blatant indifference to deprecation (Lewison). The "cell" organization, the project's physical isolation, and outside funding helped overcome the lack of support.

The far more common pattern was simply one in which superordinates were mildly pleased to have something new being done in their district with someone else's money.

Subordinate attitudes are a different matter. Almost without exception most building principals were not in favor of the project's implementation (Lewison, Dodson, and Bloomvale). While the initiation stage was too early for actual opposition (that could be done more safely, conveniently, and effectively at the implementation stage), their attitudes were critical from the beginning. That opposition is the first hint that changing districts is an unavoidable challenge to authority.

There is little evidence of either support or opposition from the trainee population at the initiation stage of the project. In general, they are unaware of what is to happen to them, or if they know of the project's existence, its goals are stated in such vague and lofty terms that no one can object. Projects with precise purposes pointed directly at identifiable groups were more likely to encounter the opposition of those groups. As potential trainee groups were identified (e. g., high school math teachers, special educational curriculum developers, etc.) that identity gave rise to opposition (Wagonia, Dodson, Metro City).

Adoption Process

In all but one of the sites (Bloomvale) the adoption process could be described as at least a partial response to the existence of a problem. (N. B. "Problem solving" is a different business than goal seeking. For one thing, the salience of the project depends on the existence of often transient problems. For another, the progress assessment of problem solving is a more subtle business.) The sole exception was the district that used its first year of funding to support a consulting firm's search for problems in an already healthy school system. But, while it is true that most sites were intent on doing something about their problems, it does not follow that they employed an R&D process. Instead, they came to recognize problems, and they simply set out to solve them. (Note: problem solving is still an adequate description of their intentions at this early stage. The remedial and

ameliorating goal reduction occurs later: the sequence of decay is from goal seeking to problem solving to problem meliorating.)

The "problem solving" orientation seems to describe the behavior of project level people better than it does that of district staff. At the district level, "Opportunistic Response to Available Money" is the most accurate description. Most schools store their needs in a bottomless pit. When they become aware of resources which could be matched with any given need, they fish around in the pit, find the need, and tell the funding agency that that one was the most pressing thing on their agenda.

The linkage model is notable by its absence. Except insofar as the knowledge stored in the heads of particular project people links them to R&D institutions, it simply was not a factor.

The initiation process in these cases seems to start with the "emergent" recognition of a generalized need for change in someone else's behavior by a small group of middle-level people who then plunge into the first project treatment that satisfies them and the funding agency.*

Baseline Characteristics

The sites we visited were chosen to represent a broad range of potentially interesting descriptive variables about the project treatment and the project site. But because the sites include only one really big place and one really little place, generalizations from these data are necessarily tentative.

It is important that a project be large enough so that it is not overly contingent on district material resources. If necessary, the project needs enough resources of its own to be able to retreat, go underground, etc. It is also important that a district be large enough to support a headquarters or "middle-management" staff that has the freedom to seek project funds and run projects. This sort of organizational "slack" is related to successful innovation.

The presence of a staff development project in the country's only functioning educational park (Metro City)--a brand-new, 6-school, $70-million facility--provides an interesting if limited test of the relationship between behavioral settings and behavior. Teachers in those thoroughly modern schools demonstrated conclusively that with a little effort and ingenuity a 21st-century facility can be made to accommodate 19th-century practices. About the best that can be said is that facilities are not at all sufficient to constrain or shape teaching behavior in desired

*See Vol. I for a description of these adoption models.

ways, and that while they don't often harm, they can help or contribute to that change. However, given the overbuilt condition of the national schooling system, the point is moot.

There seems to be no relation between spending levels and success, with the exception of the most wealthy site (Bloomvale), where the district could attract relatively more competent teachers, provide more special services, be more responsive to emerging needs and generally reduce the impetus toward change felt by anyone in the district.

One would expect pupil/teacher ratios to be related to staff development projects aimed largely at change in the teachers' behavior. There is some evidence of resistance to role change where pupil/teacher ratios are highest (especially high schools); this probably reflects teacher apprehensions about the extra work entailed in any change, not simply the pupil/teacher ratio.

Teacher Organizations

Teachers' unions exist to protect their members; that collides dramatically with the purpose of staff development, which is a euphemism for changing teachers. Unions are very likely to dissent from any needs assessment that puts blame on their members. They are also unlikely to endorse changes in teacher working conditions, self-determination, or workload. In places without strong teacher associations (Lewison and Dodson), the projects were implemented without much trouble from that source. But where the teachers' group was already strong (Metro City and Wagonia) or attempting to get established (Bloomvale), virtually every proposed action was the subject of strong resistance which was not always overcome.

IMPLEMENTATION

Goals and Objectives

It might be logical to expect the needs assessment from the initiation phase to provide the goals for the project's implementation. However, it usually doesn't work that way: projects are sometimes initiated by one group and implemented by another (Metro City); sometimes the original needs were never very important (Bloomvale); or there have been profound situational changes at various stages of the project (all cases).

Most projects started with rather amorphous goals which were pushed toward greater specificity by state education agencies (SEAs) or project monitors. The

drive for greater specificity was a response to the need for objectives which could be measured in order to justify the continued funding of the project. The need to demonstrate particular accomplishments is understandable, but many of the most important outcomes of a staff development project are hard to measure. An additional argument against specificity for staff development projects is that the prior public identification of the group whose behavior needs to be changed is very likely to increase the resistance of that group to change agent efforts. Ironically, the more the group needs change, the more important it is that the group not be invidiously labeled.* Goals statements, therefore, sometimes disguise as much as they disclose. To the extent that focusing on measurable objectives increases resistance and deters attention from more important aims, that concentration may be unfortunate. One project (Wagonia) has almost completely resisted that temptation in its single-minded determination to build faculty truth-trust before all else.

On the other hand, comprehensively stated goals may not be very useful either--especially where they block the chances of more exact diagnosis and prescription, or retard accountability.

Classroom teachers believe in what they are already doing, not in what any change-oriented project wants them to do. They may be uncertain, and their convictions about their own procedures may not be firmly held (or even very clearly displayed); but they do think that they are doing OK. For a project to succeed, then, the people in charge must be firmly convinced of the correctness of what they want others to do, and they must project that confidence. But if the project is initiated by one group and implemented by another (Metro City and Bloomvale); or if the leader is replaced in midstream (Bloomvale); or if the project leadership waits for everyone else to articulate his goals before presenting any of its own (Wagonia); or if the project-wide goals are different from those at the level of actual implementation (all projects, see below), then it will be very difficult for the project to maintain the necessary self-confidence.

*This only holds for models of cooperative and semicooperative change. Where conflict is to be the engine of change, prior labeling may very well be a good tactic to get the target group's attention. Many people decry the possibility of any change in education except through the cooperative route. On the basis of these cases, that attitude seems as much a description of the problem as a valid conclusion. The purpose of public policy remains the regular achievement of public goods--under any circumstances but especially in instances of conflict or disagreement which are after all the most significant for the public policy.

Centrality and consonance refer to how close the project's goals are to those of the organization prior to the project. The first point to be made has to do with protective coloration for projects--to survive, it is generally important that the project encourage people to believe that the project represents only a relatively small change in their existing practices. Schools are continuing organizations and their current (pre-project) methods represent a distribution of benefits and distribution of power and are thus the objects of fierce loyalty. Although to the outsider the goals may seem to be meaningless generalities, they have very frequently been the focus of bitter conflict, painfully resolved. A direct challenge to those goals may lose the challenger even the chance to try by destroying access and by mobilizing the opposition. * The reformers' notion of change as an organizational summum bonum is a kiss-of-death handicap in many districts. And many of these districts are in the most need of change, which presents the committed change agent with a choice between faithful rhetoric and effectiveness. Furthermore, change often means more work and more uncertainty--which most teachers, like other people, strive to avoid. By relating project goals to what exists, the anticipated work necessary to incorporate the change and the uncertainty associated with it, can both be reduced. For these reasons, most projects pretended that their goals were founded on pre-existing larger system goals, although they were not. Another goal confusion can arise from projects that seize on a topical cause célèbre as a way to get trainee attention and initial motivation. When those "goals" are then discovered to have been merely instrumental ruses, there can be real unhappiness.

The "real" or operational goals are more difficult to analyze, partly because they are more subtly stated. Still, it seems clear that in the two most successful projects, the goals of those projects were dramatically at odds with those of their parent systems. In one case, for example, the school board was legislating the length and flexibility of paddles with which students could be punished while the project was trying to move its teacher trainees from rewarding students materially to rewarding them symbolically (Lewison). In another case, while the project was trying to individualize instruction, the board was mandating a single-district-wide lesson plan (Dodson).

*And of course, it may not. Whether it does or not is a critical probability calculation. Where one can win, or even may win, by such a challenge it can be warranted. However, federal projects have not often been the vehicle for revolutionary change. There were no revolutions among the sites examined.

Treatment Materials and Training

The most successful projects made intensive use of materials specially developed for the project. The quality of the materials seemed to make less difference than the fact that the materials were tailored to the site by project staff. (Quality was important, however: both sites had changed their training curricula in light of initial trainee reactions, but it is still likely that the technical excellence or fidelity to the original treatment was compromised.) Indigenous development seems to have had a number of important benefits. Locally developed curriculum can counteract insularity of teachers, who usually believe that no one else can possibly know anything about their situations.

A similar point applies where project materials replace those already in existence. In that case, locally developed materials may lessen the hostility of those who were responsible for developing the originals, especially if they participated in developing the new ones (Dodson).

A more important benefit has to do with the personal investment and thus also commitment represented in self-developed material. When the trainers wrote their own guides and curriculum, they were likely to know it better and believe in it more than if they had simply adopted pre-existing materials.

The most successful materials offered a number of alternate points of entry (e.g., classroom physical organization; child self-concept; diagnostic procedures, etc., etc.) so that teachers could begin where they were.

That is related to another important characteristic--the opportunity for early success. Praise, material rewards, changed student performance, or even self-satisfaction should be provided early. One project adopted a "Bonus Pass" system in which teachers could qualify for a substitute teacher to relieve them of their classes for a day by completing portions of their training materials (Dodson). Another offered $100 for the successful completion of a training component. In neither case was the availability of these material rewards a significant incentive to very many teachers to start the training, but it was a useful reinforcement to continue it.

Three of the projects incorporated tough-minded evaluation of trainee development. Trainees frequently failed competence tests, but rather than being discouraged, the trainees seemed to feel that this contributed credibility to the training experience and differentiated it from many of the demeaning "Mickey Mouse" institutes and workshops to which they had been exposed.

The extent of "packaging" was also related to the success of the training experience. At one extreme, a completely "unpackaged" project sent teacher trainers out to work spontaneously on their trainees' classroom problems (Metro City). Unfortunately, the change efforts then got linked tightly to the presence of the trainer. At the other extreme, a training staff stayed largely in one place, preparing kits and self-instructional packages which they then mailed to trainees (Lewison). The following combination seems to be indicated:

1. Provision of training staff as a regular source of help on the trainee's demand and on the trainee's problems. This is important to break down teachers' expectations that change projects bring with them unrealistic work demands.
2. A demonstration lesson by the trainer with the trainee's classes but with no participation or responsibility on the part of the trainee. This helps establish the trainer's credibility and the treatment's feasibility. The negative side of this has to do with the credibility of a young training staff--as they usually are--with a "more experienced" teaching staff. Then demonstration lessons were felt to lead to resentment (Lewison, Bloomvale).
3. Provision of multi-media, multi-topic, self-paced, self-instructional teaching packages for the trainee's independent use. It should be kept in mind that many teachers do not have time to read extensive material.
4. The credible, non-invidious, independent evaluation of individual progress at relatively frequent intervals by people outside the teachers' school-based chain of command, unrelated to the teacher's "official," permanent-record performance evaluation. Only one project was able with impunity to build the principal's participation into the teacher's evaluation (Lewison). Needless to say, that place did not have a union or even a strong teachers' association.

Trainee-Related Characteristics. The clearest relationship between any trainee characteristic and project success is the grade level of the teacher. The higher the grade level, the more resistant to training is the teacher. The effect is so clear that no project examined was able to have any impact on a high school.

The other strong relationship has to do with how trainees joined the project. Most projects devoted most of their resources and had most of their impact on volunteers.

There are several reasons why projects concentrated on volunteers. They are easier to attract into the project and easier to train than those who don't volunteer. They tend to be "friends and neighbors" of the project staff members: thus, as a more congenial group sharing many assumptions, the training is easier to conduct and moves faster. Initial success with volunteers bolsters the morale of trainers in preparation for the more difficult tasks ahead. These special projects, which are untried and struggling for credibility and support, seldom have the political weight to require participation. Often the premises of the training techniques (OD, for example) make it inappropriate to require participation. The teachers' organizations, regular responsibilities, and professional status usually are sufficient protection anyway. Thus, the focus on volunteers.

Effects of Volunteers. Unfortunately, that early concentration on volunteers can have some deleterious effects. First, it misleads trainers about what to expect. Second, it often encourages them to modify their training agenda based on experiences with volunteers which then do not work at all when the project takes on a non-volunteer audience. Third, it creates obligations and expectations for continued service which subtly steer the project's resources toward the most receptive audiences--the volunteers. But, since most volunteers already support the project (why else volunteer?), the effect is to allocate the most resources where they are needed least. Where they tried to affect high schools at all, for example, projects did so only in their last year (Bloomvale, Metro City, Lewison). Furthermore, the volunteer trainees often return to their schools as true believers searching for converts. But volunteers or converts are not always greeted with enthusiasm. The enthusiasm of the newly trained volunteers convinces many people that the project is for radicals and other eccentrics. Thus the training staff finds itself saddled with a distorted reputation and therefore with diminished chances of building a bridge to the larger group, which is more in need of the training (Bloomvale, Lewison).

The extent to which trainees perceived the need for their own (further) development is an important and complicated characteristic. Certainly that perceived need facilitates acceptance of treatment and enhances the chance of success. But where is it to come from? Where projects were initiated because of particular crises (racial outbursts, rampant drug abuse), the perceived need often related only to that crisis and not to underlying causes. But when the crisis was resolved, the impetus for change disappeared. One project (Bloomvale) made a concerted effort to create crises in order to get the attention of people who believed

themselves to be working within a largely healthy organization. The tactic was not successful.

Successful projects managed to convince their populations that the training was relevant to a central role area but not so important as to be threatening or overwhelming. Trainees need to see that they are being asked to make small changes related to big goals. Creating that perceived need is an extremely delicate business which, depending on the strategy chosen, may be essential to project success. Recall the 2-year concentration on developing this preparatory attitude in one project (Wagonia). The next question is, what should be done in the absence of a perceived need? Nonvolunteers are likely to feel that they're doing OK without the project. The great behavioral differences between volunteers and nonvolunteers would seem to dictate two distinctly different training techniques, yet none of the projects took account of that fact!

The defensive characteristics of the nonvolunteer audience need some explanation. As a whole, teachers are asked to perform virtually impossible tasks with a technology that is inadequate or simply wrong. Defensiveness is understandable where the circumstances demand a professional, pedagogical role performance in the absence of adequate knowledge about what causes good teaching and learning. Finally, because teachers recognize that they are supposed to perform intellectual tasks, and because their intellect is clearly on display in training sessions, the safest performance is the least performance.

Behavior Modification. Another question deals with reinforcement of the trainee's behavior as opposed to the redirection of it. Most of the teachers who were trained said that the project simply reinforced their prior behavior, or only added to what they had learned elsewhere, and so on. Part of this is certainly self-protection, but it also indicates where training may be the most efficient. Still, it should be noted that the group most in need of project resources is not the group already moving in that direction, but the much larger group at a dead standstill. Although some projects came closer than others (notably Dodson), no project seemed able to marshal all of the requirements necessary to recruit the status quo majority.

The one bright spot in this dark picture is the hidden effect many projects have on that resistant majority. We found some evidence that resistant teachers nonetheless did modify their behavior, even when they denied doing it.

The provision of on-site assistance may help with the critical mass effect discussed elsewhere. Where the trainers are aware of their trainees' social system, they may provide the trainees with more legitimation against its demands and may modify their training to help the trainees cope better with the weight of the larger system.

Trainee audiences other than professional educators appeared in four of the proposals, but only one project (Bloomvale) gave even half-hearted attention to them.

Trainer Characteristics and Training Methods. The best trainers we encountered were those who had been associated with the schools but who were now at some emotional and professional remove. The most effective trainers seemed naively enthusiastic and maintained that enthusiasm in the face of reality. Thus they had inside knowledge and surface credibility, plus a critical attitude and some protection from the consequences of that attitude.

Many projects use outside consultants in an attempt to get that critical attitude and the freedom to act on it. All four projects that employed outside consultants to train teachers dropped them after the first year (Lewison, Dodson, Wagonia, Bloomvale). They were simply not credible enough or responsible enough to get through.

Project leadership is just as important as management myths would have us believe. Project administrators varied greatly in both their management skills and their knowledge of staff development techniques, and that variation was directly related to success. Although the success of these projects varied with the amount and kind of planning, some administrators had virtually no planning skills (Bloomvale, Metro City). Continuity of leadership was another key factor.

The participation of trainees in management decisions did not make much difference, but their freedom to manage their own training experiences did.

At the project level, our observations led us to conclude that materials should be ambitious and complex, learner-paced, iterative, and spaced with multiple entry points; should provide for independent evaluation, offer opportunities for early success, and avoid lectures.

Where the goals of the project included attention to strongly held cultural values (attitudes about race, ethnic pluralism, student responsibilities), the projects tended to concentrate on the supposedly more neutral technical aspects and consistently avoided engaging in those controversies. Thus projects that started out to deal with race ended up working on instructional techniques (Wagonia, Metro City).

Administrative Relations

Support from above is not as important as might be expected. Outside funding and the ad hoc quality of project activities are some proof against hostility from above. District-level support can be helpful, but it is not nearly as important as the attitudes of the principals. They can be offended by staff development projects that appear to usurp their self-arrogated "master teacher" function, by those who try (as is normally the case) to move teachers away from practices sanctioned by the principals. Change-oriented projects are challenges to authority. Only a few projects could sustain an end run around the principals to the teachers (Lewison and Dodson). Support from the superintendent is then helpful, but a damn-the-torpedoes attitude is even better.

One way to reduce resistance from principals and administrators is to train them too so that they can appear knowledgeable to their staffs. Unfortunately, it is even more difficult to convince top administrators and principals that they need "development" than it is to convince teachers.

Staff and Management

Most districts didn't expand their organization in order to carry out the project but instead temporarily funded some of the existing staff with project money. The two least successful projects expanded their staffs (Metro City) and/or used project funds for consultants to provide the treatment, which turned out to be unsuccessful.

All sites agreed that staff development was the most important kind of intervention--but given the fact that these were all staff development projects, that hardly seems surprising.

SEAs were rarely credited with any useful intervention although they seemed to have had some slight impact on most projects. Most staff people complained of paperwork, changes in peripheral features, evaluation requirements, and so on--all of which were attributed to SEA people who were regarded as uninformed, transitory, and irrelevant.

The "cell" nature of the two most successful projects has already been described. Both were to a considerable extent isolated from the rest of the system. Given the seriousness with which they took their task to change (i.e., challenge) that system, and given the power of the rest of the organization, that isolation seems prudent.

On the other hand, projects that aspire to change teachers must deal with principals. The projects that achieved their own goals least well failed largely

because principals re-directed (Metro City) or subverted (Bloomvale) project efforts once they reached the school building level. Two projects tried to circumvent the principals--in the very small system it worked because of the unsophistication and passivity of the principals (Lewison). In the large system (Dodson), the principals lost a few of the early pitched battles with project staff and then won the war with a scorched earth strategy (Dodson).

Resource allocation patterns document this point. Where project resources were made available to principals for use at their own discretion, they were largely used to maintain and buttress the status quo (cover classes, act as substitutes, etc.). Where resource allocation remained in project hands, project purposes were better served, and where they could not be served, at least the project staff was able to negotiate the terms for certain compromises.

The criteria for resource allocation within projects are about what might be expected. Project goals did not completely govern but did so in combination with other criteria, such as the prior social access of the training staff to trainees (Lewison), the vulnerability of grade levels to treatment (Wagonia), the demands of a particular treatment (Wagonia, Dodson), state law (Dodson), and in all cases factors that were purely situational, idiosyncratic, and largely uncontrolled or unanticipated.

Planning seems to be directly related to success. Projects that had achieved the most could also communicate where they were going and how they hoped to get there. This reflects more than the presence of good management mechanisms. It also includes an active and positive orientation to the events and contingencies that buffeted all of the projects.

In only one case--the Wagonia project, whose development seems to have been arrested at the truth-trust OD stage--did the trainees govern their own resource allocation. In that case, many more resources were spent on extra-curricular goodies such as field trips than on training activities per se.

District-level involvement seems to have been quite benign in most projects. Superintendents, for example, generally approve of any special project that someone else pays for as long as it doesn't stir things up too much. In one case (Metro City), virtually everything the project achieved was by virtue of superordinate intervention.

Evaluation in the sense of <u>informal</u> but serious stocktaking by project staff and district clientele is important in the most successful projects. They pay attention to it and they change because of it. Evaluation in the sense of <u>formal</u> project assessment for the state and federal grantors is done to continue to qualify for money, not for its utility to project management, and is not taken seriously by participants.

Complexity of Project

The most expensive project (double the cost of any other we studied) was also both the least complex and the least successful (Metro City). The few who had thought through the enormous and complicated problems entailed in behavioral change in that district despaired of accomplishing anything. Most participants had not faced the issues at all. The result was a sort of unsupervised laissez-faire cafeteria.

One of the two most successful projects was fabulously and endlessly complicated. The other was also quite complicated for a small district to undertake.

This is a curious finding since successful implementation seems less likely as things get more complex. Yet the most successful projects relied on multiple inputs, the availability of different sorts of actor attitudes, long chains of changes and events, and so on. The message may be that no lesser sort of change will suffice, and the risks simply must be faced.

Change-Related Factors

A similar point obtained with respect to the amount of change attempted: the best projects set out to make a big difference, to help people to depart substantially and radically from their previous patterns. (Recall, however, that these aims describe the real agenda, not the public agenda which is usually much more modest). The least successful projects typically got their money first and their purposes second. While these projects probably did contribute to organizational maintenance, they did not contribute to organizational change.

Big change aspirations are probably functional because they motivate their participants, and also allow some significant accomplishment in the face of inevitable compromises.

How much of a school site must be affected before the implementation can actually take hold? The social sanctions of the school exert themselves very strongly. An occasional maverick can buck those sanctions and implement the changed behavior in isolation. But the much more common pattern is for the school to single out rate-busters and to deprecate or ostracize them until they conform. It should be remembered that change is an indictment of existing practice and of existing practitioners: in its fieldwork reality, it is not a state devoutly to be sought, nor is it a clinical, bloodless, consensual process. It is also likely to

be accompanied by "extra" work and to alter the school's distribution of benefits. It will be resisted by teachers who are threatened by it.

For these reasons, it is important for the project to reach enough of a school building's staff to provide a potentially self-contained unit. Allowing for defections, backsliding, and partial implementation, that usually means not fewer than 20 to 25 percent of the school's staff must be successfully trained. The two most successful projects (Lewison, Dodson) achieved that critical mass in about a third and a tenth of their respective schools.

The literature argues that training is most successful when the training site most closely resembles the implementation site. Yet both of the successful projects relied heavily on packaged materials which were used away from school. The least successful project did nothing but classroom assistance! Thus the resemblance may be helpful, but it is not at all sufficient and probably nowhere near as important as other factors.

Organizational and Personal Characteristics

The existence of hierarchies, chains of command, rules, and formal procedures seems not to have made much difference to these projects. Particular instances of bureaucratic infighting did make a difference, but these are personal factors not much related to the formal structure of the organization.

Two projects did separate themselves organizationally. In one case (Dodson), the change-oriented group had sought, but failed, to locate the project inside the largest of the headquarters divisions so that they could bore from within. In another case (Wagonia), it was thought to be important to place the project director at an organizational distance from the school principal.

In no case was there any impediment to change solely from bureaucratic rigidity. Most project personnel are already socialized as good bureaucrats, and the projects' special status exempts them from some administrivia.

One group maintained with considerable justice that there was a "project" mentality inside and outside projects which allowed the larger organization to discount and thus resist most project-initiated change attempts as hot-house environments, with no staying power, lush resources and unrealistic aims (Dodson). The response of the project staff was to deny that it was a project, and to attempt to insinuate its services in as many different parts of the regular organization as possible. Of course the strategy led to charges of bureaucratic imperialism and to an extremely complex project organization, but it also undoubtedly contributed to

visibility, built a clientele, and most importantly, prepared a decentralized system of retreat positions against the possibility of the project's violent demise.

Formality of Communications. Because it is hard to change teachers, project staff are often reluctant to try without support. In fact, much of the orthodoxy of training procedures stresses working only with volunteers. Thus, despite the proposal specifications, most training staffs worked most with people they knew already or who were like them. For example, if the training staff was largely from elementary schools, the high school never received any training (Lewison and Metro City); or if the project director had been a headquarters curriculum specialist, most project contacts with the schools were through grade leaders. It was easier, less threatening, and more successful to recruit trainees among one's former associates. The informal communications networks thus shaped application of the project treatment.

Decisionmaking. The school sites, especially the principals, exerted an enormous influence on project decisions. Where the principal refuses to allow carpet squares in a teacher's classroom (on the alleged ground that "they breed vermin"), or where the principal can reduce a teacher to tears in front of her colleagues for allowing "noise" (children talking to other children), or where a principal can dump all of the school's behavior problems on a teacher as a reward for her newly acquired teaching skills--teachers think very carefully about their principal's reaction. The training project and staff come and go, but the teacher is left to make peace with the school's permanent authority.

Thus every project identified the system's principals as a critical force. Only one project even attempted to buck the principals, entering schools and conducting training sessions on the authority of the superintendent--a practice that lasted until the Principals' Association forced the board to rescind the superintendent's authority (Dodson)! A far more common pattern was for the project to announce the district-wide availability of its services in tones of muted assertiveness, but when the trainers crossed the school's threshold they worked with teachers identified by the principal and on problems identified by the principal and with success determined by the principal (Lewison, Bloomvale, Metro City).

There are cases when the principal supports the project. But, since change challenges authority, not many school authorities are inclined to encourage that challenge. When they did, the changes were swift and dramatic.

Innovative Capacity. In two sites, the project has demonstrably increased innovative capacity (Lewison, Wagonia); in one it has demonstrably decreased (Dodson); and in two others there has been no change. The most dramatic increase

came in the smallest district, which had never had a soft money project before (the central office had a lot of trouble figuring out how to account for the money). In another, participation in project activities touched so many school personnel that the district now sends them out in technical assistance teams to other schools. The diminished capacity occurred in a large, conservative district of traditionalists galvanized into action by their opposition to the project. Demotions, dismantlement, and reorganization have decimated the project staff; no one is likely to be foolish enough to try something new in the district in the foreseeable future. The other two districts (Bloomvale and Metro City) will continue to attract soft money and to avoid spending the proceeds on innovations.

If we assume that risk is a function of probable success, then from the foregoing circumstances, two districts will take risks (Lewison, Wagonia), and three won't. Of course, new staff may appear to try for change, even in these three districts.

Where the project staff believed in what they were doing, the projects had a much greater chance to flourish. This effect was so strong that a central question becomes whether or not there are ways for the project to encourage that commitment. The most useful incentive seems to have been visibility/mobility. The most successful projects (Lewison, Dodson, Wagonia) seemed to be run by people who reported such changes in their careers while the less successful projects (Bloomvale and Metro City) were run by people who were comfortably resigned to falling back to classroom teaching. Because vigorous change attempts engendered animosity, successful people needed a way out of the district and were glad to have it. Less successful people could easily sink back into the organizations, which they had never challenged. The increased responsibility and intrinsic satisfactions probably were important elements of good projects, but money, credentials, and promotions were not sufficient incentives to produce the commitment necessary to success.

Project leaders tended to have had recent experiences with graduate school, which seems to have armed them with some ideas which they then tried to employ. They also seemed to have more academic credentials than their immediate superiors or than their clientele. This education may in effect have provided the project's leadership with training relevant to the conduct of the project. Certainly those projects which provided more training and guidance from the leadership level down to the actual trainer level were more successful than those which didn't.

Age, sex, tenure, previous position, amount of salary from project funds, promotions, and percent of time devoted to project activities did not make much difference. Ambition was related to success (Lewison, Dodson, Wagonia), although responses to the question may have revealed only the individual's felt need to move to another district after having survived the change attempt. Similarly, good projects seemed to be run by people who were more career-bound than place-bound (Lewison, Dodson, Wagonia).

Self-selection, a process in which the individual volunteered for the leadership position, seems preferable to recruitment on both continuity and commitment grounds (Lewison, Wagonia). The better projects were also run by people who were aware of the policy problems of change in education at levels above their own.

ADAPTATIONS

All projects displayed a clear and similar pattern of adaptations. With the passage of time they (a) became less ambitious about the system-wide effects they sought; (b) simplified their treatments; (c) slowed the pace of their activities; (d) decreased the amount of changed behavior expected from any individual; and (e) decreased their expectations about how many people within a site could be changed.

Three of the projects examined (Lewison, Bloomvale, Metro City) initially intended to retrain teachers at all levels of their systems, K-12. All three began with an initial focus on the elementary schoolteacher population and then never succeeded in coming to grips with the high schools. It seems clear from all of the cases that the high schools are special and present peculiar obstacles to change agent programs. The peculiarities include the following:

- The high school curriculum is topically organized, with teachers who relate to their topic fields more than to education in general. While most change projects emphasize process, high school teachers consistently subordinate process considerations to topic coverage.
- Topic specialization provides a source of identity and an organizing base which makes high school teachers see themselves as superior to their lower grade colleagues. That specialization facilitates defense against outsiders and makes resistance to change easier and more effective.
- High school faculties are often already split into antagonistic groups of "core," solids," or "academic" teachers and "elective" teachers. Their lack of cooperation makes things like scheduling changes and team teaching very difficult to realize. They believe in the compartments that

they have locked themselves into. The norm of local unanimity further freezes this situation.

- The baby boom has not yet ebbed in the high schools, which remain relatively overcrowded, allowing teachers less free time and organizational slack than is currently available in lower grades.
- High school teachers deal for shorter time periods with many more and older students and thus tend to blame the anonymous mass of threatening students more than themselves for failures of schooling. That diminishes the sense of personal responsibility and thus the felt need to change.
- Those who fail or are failed by the high school simply go away and are not persistent problems within the same organization, which also diminishes the felt need for change.
- High schools are larger and more specialized with many intermediate layers. Teachers are less dependent on their principals than are elementary school teachers and are thus harder to influence through the chain of command.
- High school faculties are usually more unionized than elementary faculties and thus less malleable with respect to the demands of training programs.
- There is far less parent and community pressure on high schools than on other levels.
- Because their content specialization gives them greater mobility, high school teachers have more options, and fewer move into the central office posts from which special projects are often staffed. Thus there are fewer people from high school on training projects, and access back to the high schools is that much harder.

These factors seem to account for the omission of any serious attempts to affect one entire organizational level of schooling.

Ordinarily, a project starts out with a very ambitious agenda of change, in part in order to justify funding. But after original funding has been secured, the need arises to justify continued funding. That means demonstrating success with much more discrete measurable phenomena than those in the original agenda. Unfortunately, the measured phenomena are only a small, and usually not very important, fragment of the project's goals. One project that began as a curriculum revolution was most successful in teaching spelling (Dodson). The measurable achievements come at the expense of the broader agenda.

Risk reduction works in a similar way. Broad attempts to change organizations and people encounter strong resistance. Resisting the resistance burns up the project's capital. When people begin to appreciate how slow and costly change is, they often scale their goals down to match the available resources. Thus projects that had started out to end illiteracy end up trying to teach kids just a little bit. Projects that had tried for individualized instruction are satisfied with differentiated small(er) group instruction. The problem-solving orientation gives way to a remedial one.

Projects naturally tend to concentrate where their efforts are rewarded with palpable change. This makes it difficult to move on from the site of original success. Servicing the original clientele creates an expectation for continued availability; early cooperation from a group makes it hard to abandon that group, which, if successful, is now more congenial to the project staff than the rest of the staff would be. The result is a much narrower circle of treatment than had originally been intended. The effect is most noticeable where the project is supposed to train teachers, para-professionals, students, and community people. When the project staff is composed of professionals, they will concentrate on the fellow professional clientele, preempting service to any others. Four of the five projects examined (Lewison, Wagonia, Bloomvale, Metro City) dropped any intention of providing service to their communities after the first year.

Finally, goals are often simplified by dropping controversial goals. Projects that originally aspired to deal with an attempt to increase respect for racial heterogeneity focused their attention on practically everything but the question of race (Metro City, Dodson).

Treatment Simplification

Similar processes operate to simplify the project treatment. The panoply of services and activities and the sequences of phases and events that characterize many proposals and the initial implementation of a project get diluted as they are transferred from the project leadership to the training staff to the trainees. In one project, for example, a consulting firm which specialized in OD interventions tried to provide capsule training to a group of teachers who were then actually to conduct the interventions in their systems. The result was that the consultants knew the technology but had no responsibility, while the teachers knew little technology but had all the responsibility. Consequently, the teachers only employed the simplest and "safest" of the techniques which they had been taught.

The training audience also acts to prune the treatment. The real world knocks a lot of the edges off the original conceptualizations on the grounds that they are simply not practical. Thus, some project materials were cut by half, the amount of reading was reduced, the length of training exposure was shortened, etc.

Effective behavioral intervention is a time-consuming and costly process which can therefore only be made available to a relatively small group of people. But where the project is viewed as a benefit to be distributed, there is often pressure to make it available to as many people as possible. In order to spread the benefit (and not incidentally, to build a political base), the treatment is thinned, applied to more people, with less effect (Bloomvale, Dodson). Similarly, with a high demand for services, the temptation might be to reduce the treatment so that more people can profit by it.

Treatments also get simplified by being captured. Trainers arriving at the school with an elaborate training routine sometimes discover that the principal or the teacher-clients have other ideas about how they should be used. The training materials then get bent to the needs of the local situation or simplified in order to accommodate both project and site agendas (Bloomvale, Dodson).

Pace

Another adaptation that most projects experience has to do with the pace of project activities. Some projects are planned with a client group of the system's most resistant trainees in mind. Thus elaborate treatments are specified, more elaborate than the initial trainee group, composed of volunteers, really needs. Thus, after the initial experience goes very well, the project begins to tackle trainees from increasingly more resistant groups. That clientele change really clamps the brakes on, and the pace of change slows dramatically.

Other things that retard projects are loss of initial enthusiasm, disillusionment about the amount of forced change or pushing which is feasible, inevitable problems of logistics and production, and the gathering forces of opposition. All projects are immersed in a local context which cannot be escaped or ignored. Newly constructed buildings don't open on time, unions have jurisdictional disputes, community groups misinterpret or oppose the project--these are simply facts of life which must be dealt with.

Where projects do succeed, early success often dampens the perceived need for additional change and slows further work. Sometimes, the problem that had provided the initial motivation simply changes. In one case, for example, a project partly aimed at drug abuse prevention was weakened when the wily high

school students suddenly switched from abusing drugs to abusing alcohol (Bloomvale).

Amount of Change

Two other factors tend to reduce project goals vis à vis individuals. First, the amount of change expected of anyone is reduced from a complete transformation or behavioral reorientation to some change, however modest. Projects that began by trying to change teachers' classroom management with respect to learning rate, learning content, and learning style ended by settling for adoption of any improved behavior (Dodson). Projects that had hoped to individualize instruction were eventually willing to help with any departure from one-on-thirty norm (Metro City). One project started out to train teachers to eschew subordination, stop being authority freaks, seize control of their own professional circumstances, take responsibility for their own actions, suspend their hostility and suspicions, increase their time and emotional investment in their jobs, and otherwise dramatically depart from the norm. The project ended up by abandoning its hopes of organizational democracy and measured its success by the number of student-initiated interchanges in the classroom.

Projects also consistently reduced their expectations about the proportion of people in any given site that they would be able to reach. The proposals always had high hopes, but the later project experience was considerably more modest. This demonstrates the gap between the trainer's intentions and the classroom teacher's prerogatives, which allow them to implement or not as they see fit.

IMPACT

Our most arresting finding was how little change in teachers, social context, or student performance could be related to the project. There were changes, but they seemed more episodic, faint, and dispersed than expected.

The only places where support for schooling, professional engagement, or morale changed were in the elementary and intermediate schools. Three sites (Lewison, Wagonia, Bloomvale) did succeed in improving teacher attitudes toward their work. The most dramatic case (Wagonia) was the one in which the project was located in and confined to a single intermediate school. That school was a social-emotional wreck at the project's inception and by the end of the second year, the project had demonstrably increased the staff's commitment, sense of responsibility, and personal investment. (But the project has not yet succeeded in doing anything much about instructional styles).

On the other hand, a project (Bloomvale) that set out to work directly on teacher attitudes about and participation in school management failed in that respect but did manage to affect teaching styles. Apparently the teachers learned about impediments to their communication with the school's management and then decided that the same phenomena were blocking their own communication with their students.

For the other three projects, the attitudes of defensiveness, limited investment, and so on which characterize teaching as a profession and which contribute so heavily to determining teacher attitudes were simply too powerful to overcome with the techniques applied.

Changes in School Personnel

Only three projects changed teacher attitudes toward their work and place of work, but all projects could claim some changes in instructional techniques among some of their staff. Those changes were all in the direction of better, i.e., more behaviorally indicated, instruction, but the numbers affected varied widely. In successful projects, perhaps as many as a third of staff in as many as half of the project schools had changed as much as half of their instructional practice (Lewison). The next most successful project could only claim changes of a similar magnitude in not more than 10 percent of its schools.

The social and peer climate of the school helps to determine project success. For change to be "visible," it has to have had a fairly dramatic and widespread impact on the school. But these projects had other impacts which, although not as visible, may in the aggregate be as important. First, there is the phenomenon of the isolated teacher who, alone among that school's staff, was affected, did change, and will persist in that change. In almost every school we visited there was at least one teacher who significantly departed from that school's norms and enacted a large portion of the project's techniques. Such "loners" have a difficult role to sustain, but they were an important part of the project's accomplishment.

Second, tiny changes made at the margins of the instructional behavior of a great many teachers may have a cumulative effect. Although the bulk of their practice might still appall the project staff, it is still a significant achievement if after the project, teachers hit fewer students, allow slightly more interaction, coordinate one lesson plan a year with a neighbor, praise slightly more often, and so on. Such changes are barely visible and usually barely conscious, and many teachers strain to deny them or deny that the project introduced them. Teachers are often so defensive that they deprecate project techniques and praise

traditional instruction. But their classrooms frequently featured wall charts of student behavior, centers, and the paraphernalia of differentiated instruction. When asked to explain those features, they would usually claim to have been doing those things all along or to have invented them themselves, although in fact that was not the case.

In assessing these projects, the contribution of these two groups--the isolated "loners" and the bit incrementalists--needs to be added to the more dramatic and rare instances of site-wide transformation.

These projects didn't have much visible effect on their direct target (the teachers); what can be said about the project's mediated impact on kids? Most projects claimed pupil changes of various magnitudes (one project discerned a 2.6 grade level change in reading scores over one year until the district's computer center discovered they had been analyzing a partial sample). But the project-generated achievement data seemed prey to the same problems which make all achievement data so notorious. Whatever the intention, projects never succeeded in providing services directly to kids, or in incorporating kids in the training troop (Dodson, Bloomvale). But the children were undoubtedly the beneficiaries of some amount of the instructional changes stimulated by the projects.

Value of Project to Superordinate Administration

In only one instance (Dodson), was the fate of the project of great interest to the district administrators. In that case, the project constituted 90 percent of their attempts at reforming the district, and thus they regarded it very highly. In another case (Metro City), the project's resources were the only leverage available to an administrator, although he simply could not get a handle on them fast enough to turn a floundering activity to his own advantage. In other cases, administrators were pleased to have the projects as symbols of their progressiveness, but they were indifferent to the outcome.

The two least successful projects were presided over by classroom leaders who regarded their project roles as a temporary duty assignment. Especially in the concluding years, when they were anticipating re-entry into the classroom, they studiously avoided making waves--and thus nothing happened. The other three projects were all much more important to their administrators. The project represented their first attempts at systematic, conscious, and concerted reform of large parts of an educational organization. They enjoyed the experience, and they would all do it again, although all three expected to be forced out of their districts as a direct result of their project roles. In only one case was the departure

anticipated as a violent event. But the other two came to understand that their critical attitudes toward their colleagues' work, their necessary advocacy of a "superior" position, and the removal of the protective project cocoon all made it prudent for them to seek employment elsewhere. Still, the employment they do seek will most likely be in a role similar to their current one.

Summary of Factors Associated with Impact

The implementation discussion has already detailed the effect of various project and site features on the success or failure of what was found. That discussion will simply be summarized here under three outcome categories--the two most successful projects and their characteristics (Table 1), the mixed case (Table 2), and the two least successful cases (Table 3).

CONTINUATION

The continuation of project efforts in the most successful district appears assured if only because the materials and procedures produced will remain intact, and training activities were never dependent on pacing or guidance by the teaching staff. Thus the project's dissolution should still leave a stock of materials with which many of the district's teachers have already had a favorable experience. Furthermore, the project staff had lobbied hard and successfully to get completion of parts of the training materials accepted as qualification for a higher step on the district's scale. Then, when the SEA recently required all districts to come up with a new set of performance competencies for re-certification of their faculties, the project staff successfully inserted the project's own list of desired teacher outcomes so that all teachers must now pay more careful attention to those standards. Since the project never had to face any significant opposition, and since a high proportion of the district's teachers liked the training, prospects for continuation seem good.

However, this project will not be continued as a discrete special-purpose staff. The headquarters specialists will return to the units from which they came, and they may continue to do some project-related activities, but the continuing participation in the training activities will operate without a "project" umbrella.

Similar points may be made with respect to the other clearly successful project site. The staff anticipated that the re-emergence of the conservative forces would kill the project as an entity. They produced a great many materials and infiltrated all parts of their bureaucracy in preparation for that contingency. The hope was that out of a "blanket" or "cascade" of services, some would survive. In

addition, to guard against backsliding on the part of project personnel who were returning to their former environs, all such personnel were required to undergo the complete training cycle a second time. The project's enemies have moved vigorously against it, but the project will have "gone underground" and thus the activities should survive to a considerable extent.

In the mixed case school, where the project's development has so far been arrested, it is very hard to predict continuation. The whole theoretical justification for having placed so much emphasis on quality of interpersonal communications is so that ensuing changes will be more profound and more lasting. So one hopes.

The most that can be hoped for in the two projects is that those relatively fewer teachers whose behavior was affected will not return to their old patterns of behavior. There is evidence to indicate that they will not. Most teachers whose instructional practices were changed as a result of these projects were already dissatisfied with their performance or became persuaded of its inadequacy. There was a great deal of consensus about how impossible it would be to move back to large group, teacher-talk instruction, and all our respondents said they never would.

DISSEMINATION/DIFFUSION

There is not a great deal that can be said about what hasn't happened. Only two projects demonstrated any real impact on any schools other than the target schools. In both cases, that effort was linked to the personal drives of the project's leadership. In one case, the leader was a former professor who had a habit of publication and a need for career-enhancing publicity. In the other case, the project director had set up a state-wide organization of project directors as a defense against what he felt was SEA interference. He did a lot of speaking, inevitably about his own experiences, and therefore got a lot of publicity, visits, and requests for information from his colleagues.

All projects felt hampered because SEA and federal regulations put stringent conditions on their dissemination activities. In the absence of any broader audience, the only people to whom the project might be diffused were the other schools in each district. But that did not work out.

It was a unanimous experience of these projects that regardless of their degrees of success, they were studiously ignored by their district colleagues. Although the school may virtually be Walden III, visitors are still more likely to come from 200 miles away than from 2 miles away. The educator's insecurity is

probably the chief explanation for this. Someone working in the same environment with (roughly) the same resources who does a demonstrably better job, is seen as a threat, a show-off, and probably a cheat. The same phenomenon applies among faculties. Teacher trainees are much more acceptable when they travel to neighboring schools than when they try to ply their trade in their own schools. The educator's response is to ignore the lighthouse school if it is close to home and instead go far enough away so that asking for help can be a more anonymous and "safer" experience. Then it isn't necessary to acknowledge the superiority of someone with whom you are in competition, and ideas can be changed with impunity and credited to one's self.

Table 1

THE TWO MOST SUCCESSFUL CASES

Lewison	Dodson
An integral, highly committed management group that stayed with the project from its initiation on. The group provided itself with social and material support against opposition.	Same, plus overtones of true-believer, messianic, and revolutionary spirit.
A goal of substantial transformation in the most important areas of the district's teaching practices.	A goal of revolutionary change in all parts of the system.
Change initiated from central office middle management level down.	Change initiated from higher reaches of central office down.
A relatively complicated project treatment with several components and sequences.	An extremely complicated and comprehensive treatment.
Strong emphasis on on-site development of materials and written curriculum. Material to allow multiple entry points, teacher pacing, and independent but non-invidious evaluation. Highly role-relevant training.	Same.
	Strong theoretical base.
Availability of some staff assistance on site.	Limited on-site staff assistance. Demonstration lessons.
Some material rewards as reinforcement for continuation, not as incentive to begin.	Same.
Very high felt need among an innocent and trusting training population.	High felt need among an innocent but xenophobic training population.
	Some teacher motion in a direction the project could reinforce.
No opposition; some principal support.	Opposition and very limited support from principals.
Peer group support in schools and several critical masses.	More limited support and fewer critical masses.

Table 2

THE MIXED CASE: WAGONIA

This case is different from the others in that project leadership refuses to force the pace of training activities until they feel that the majority of the school's faculty wants to change and has assimilated an OD truth/trust attitude. Thus in the first two years of what is nominally a project to differentiate instruction, there has been no attempt to communicate the technology or content of staff development.
A single leader through the project, but a management group that is elected by the teachers and thus fluctuates. Some cohesion against opposition.
A goal of substantial change in several areas, but patience about the rate of progress.
Top support and several superordinate moves that parallel and reinforce the project's moves.
A persistent stress on a single theme (truth-trust) to date.
A fetish about bootstraps. Total on-site determination of project activities, but fewer materials; independent, non-invidious evaluation. Focus to date not perceived as being very role relevant.
Material but not staff assistance to trainees. No demonstration lessons.
High felt need among a frustrated and suspicious population.
No opposition; support from principal.
Very strong peer group support and critical mass at one grade level.

Table 3

THE LEAST SUCCESSFUL CASES

Bloomvale	Metro City
Interrupted leadership. Some commitment, but also uncertainty about content or technique.	Changing leadership. No confidence in techniques. Status quo orientation.
No real goals. Search for problems that might be helped.	Goals of organizational maintenance.
Change from bottom up.	No change intended.
Simple project treatment.	Laissez-faire, situationally determined project treatments.
Consultant provision of materials with little on-site development. No trainee progress evaluation. Relevance only to one part of the teacher's role (participation in management).	No materials. High role relevance.
Strong theoretical base, but among consulting group, not project staff.	No theoretical base.
Limited staff availability.	High staff availability.
No rewards, only risks.	No rewards.
Low felt need among a knowledgeable, but complacent and suspicious population.	No felt need among a veteran and extremely resistant population.
Superordinate opposition; opposition from principals.	Superordinate support; subversion by principals.
No peer group support. No critical mass.	Same.

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EASTOWN

Milbrey Wallin McLaughlin and Miriam Baer

Eastown is a middle-class/upper middle-class community in the Northeast that is economically homogeneous and almost entirely white. There are 11 elementary schools, 3 junior high schools, and 2 high schools scattered over 30 square miles. Eastown has experienced rapid growth in the past decade with the result of much new school building or renovation. The school population of 12,000 is as large as the total town population of about ten years ago. The school district serves a typical suburban population of families living in one-family neatly landscaped homes. Many of the men in Eastown commute daily to jobs in a nearby large city.

Eastown is a politically conservative community whose two-term mayor is known for his antiliberal views. The Eastown board of education reflects the conservative climate of the community. The school budgets are frequently voted down; four of the nine board members are viewed explicitly as "tools" of the mayor who has actively campaigned against the school budget and what he argued to be "inflated" administrative salaries. People agree that the school board is an essentially political body whose members seek election not so much out of educational concerns but as a first step toward the town council, or other political office. In fact, the education reporter for the Daily News went so far as to say that at least half of the board members are "anti-school" and "anti-teacher."

According to the reporter, Eastown residents have traditionally regarded their schools as "excellent" and have expressed little discontent with the activities and progress of their children.* This pervasive sense of community satisfaction with the schools combined with the conservative political nature of the community perhaps explains in part why--unlike other Title III projects that grew out of the ideas of district personnel--the ideas, direction, and impetus for Eastown's successful Title III project were provided by an outsider.

The Moon Project (MP) at Eastown emphasizes the retraining of classroom teachers in the strategies and philosophy of open education. It was conceived and designed by an educator outside the district, who was to become project director. The idea for MP grew out of another state Title III project, Open Sesame, which attempted to bring the arts and humanities into the classroom. The educator had been executive director of Open Sesame. She concluded on the basis of her

*Indeed, Eastown school children score at or above the national average on standardized tests and approximately 60 percent of Eastown high school seniors go directly to college each year.

experience with this project that changing teacher attitudes was critical to affecting educational change and further that a "humanistic" or "child-centered" approach to education was preferable to the traditional teacher-centered classroom practices. Open Sesame had originally called for delivery of a package into the classroom. According to the educator, she "soon learned that this was no way to innovate--that teacher attitudes were critical and could be changed if they were given the information and tools to do so."

PROJECT DEVELOPMENT

As a result of the educator's involvement in Eastown with Open Sesame, one (nonproject) school (Clinton) explicitly moved toward implementing open classroom practices and, in the educator's words, "it became apparent that there was a need to develop a model that could structure school changeover from a traditional to an open approach." In the spring of 1971, the educator wrote a Title III proposal aimed at implementing such a model. It was decided to create two different changeover models, one involving the whole school (kindergarten through 5th grade) in the first year and the other involving kindergarten through 3rd grade in the first year and adding grades 4 and 5 the following year.

The project proposal is unusual in its explicit attention from the outset to the problems and costs of replicability. From the beginning, the educator attempted to develop a model that was "exportable" within normal district operating budgets, thereby eliminating the common obstacles to dissemination and incorporation imposed by high start-up or maintenance costs. The model also paid considerable attention to specification of treatment. The MP model does not require the addition of any hardware or furniture, or modification in the school plant. Participating schools, in fact, were not open space schools but consisted of traditional "egg crate" enclosed classrooms strung along hallways. The only monies to be expended would be for administration of the project, teacher training, resource materials, and evaluation.

It should be noted that both the MP idea and the degree of change embodied in the project were new to Eastown. Although the superintendent had been talking about developing an "Eastown Plan," and a few of the principals had been "wanting to do something different," few if any participants in the school district had envisioned the extensive change advocated by the educator. There was little demand in Eastown, either from professionals or from the community, for the wide-ranging

and dramatic whole-school organization change implicit in the MP. Nonetheless, the educator sold the elementary school (ES) director on the idea for the MP, and the ES director on the basis of extensive reading on open classroom strategies (particularly British infant schools) and his own recent experience as an elementary school principal became a strong advocate of the project. The superintendent saw the proposal to be consistent with his own interests in bringing about change in Eastown's educational services, and the services of district support staff were made available to help in the planning and development of the MP Title III proposal in the spring of 1971.

Unlike other Title III projects we have examined, this proposal was developed almost totally without the involvement of those who would, if the application was successful, be asked to implement it--principals and teachers. During the initial stage, support for and involvement in the MP proposal were centered almost exclusively at the central administrative level.

Decisions about the selection of project schools were also made at the central office level. Two elementary schools, Jefferson and Morningside, were suggested by the superintendent and the ES director to take part in the MP. Jefferson was selected because its principal was regarded as a leader and a competent administrator who was anxious to try something new. In addition, his school had a strong staff and a physical set-up that was suited to the introduction of open education concepts. The situation at Morningside School, however, was quite different. The ES director was the school's former principal, and his replacement was considered weak and in need of further experience. But, like Jefferson, Morningside's staff was thought to be strong and able to deal with the problems and challenges of innovating a new educational practice. Thus, it was hoped that the initiation of the MP in Morningside would contribute to the development of the new principal.

In the spring of 1971, as the Title III proposal was being written, the ES director contacted these schools and asked the principals if they would like to participate in the proposed Title III project. In his words, he did a "sales job" on the target schools, advocating open education concepts and urging participation in the project. The principals asked their staff to vote and with the exception of one teacher in each school, the staff voted to participate in the MP.

The ES director's role in generating support for the MP within the project schools should be emphasized. He had been a popular principal in Morningside School and enjoyed considerable support in the community, maintaining good relations both with the educators and supporters of the conservative mayor. As a result, the director's support and advocacy of the MP was probably a critical factor

in its almost unanimous acceptance at the project schools.* Staff members at the project schools were aware from the beginning that participation in the project would involve a lot of work and extra time, but they trusted the ES director as an educator and leader, and so responded enthusiastically to his suggestion. It is not likely that any outsider, given this particular institutional setting, could have gathered this degree of support for participation in the project.

FRICTION AND CHANGE

The history and development of the MP evidences a degree of resistance and interpersonal hostility that, in other instances, would be expected to cripple the innovative project. The frictions that characterize the MP erupted early, even before the project began. As part of the requirement for the original Title III application, the project director-to-be undertook a needs assessment of the Eastown school district. The project director believed that it was important to state the situation as it was observed in order for future evaluation to be effective, and that "sugarcoating" negative observations would diminish future achievements. However, participants in this needs assessment viewed her manner as aggressive, uncompromising, and abrasive, and her report described the Eastown schools in unequivocal and categorical terms that angered some Eastown principals. These principals interpreted her findings as inaccurate, insulting, and unprofessional. The remarks of the principal who had been delegated by his colleagues to express their reaction to the report conveys the depth of disaffection existing even before the project began:

> To put it bluntly, we were appalled and angered by the implications of your statement. It was particularly displeasing that a newcomer would have the effrontery to prepare such a statement for distribution at municipal and state levels, without possession of accurate and intimate knowledge concerning the internal operations of our eleven elementary schools.
>
> In effect, your statement can only be interpreted as implying that . . . most Eastown elementary principals are indolent, dictatorial, reactionary, oppressive, and tend to be concerned only about test scores. We understand (and share) your enthusiasm for the promising new educational venture in which you are now engaged, but we feel that charlatanism and demagoguery are neither necessary to the pursuit of your

*Interestingly, all of the teachers interviewed by NORC (National Opinion Research Center) in our earlier survey stated that they believed that the original idea for the MP came from the ES director. Teachers expressed no awareness of the founding educator's involvement in the project initiation and development.

> goals nor consonant with the high standards of professional ethics that we have always attempted to maintain in the Eastown Public Schools.

The project director herself acknowledges the antagonism directed at her by the Eastown community, but feels that it is all part of the change process. In her view, hostility toward a change agent is not only to be expected, but also is necessary if change is to occur, particularly in a conservative community like Eastown. But, as she wrote in the final project report:

> The change agent usually bears the brunt of dissatisfaction and unless there is strong very positive support for the agent of change and outgrowing activities, innovative programs can be destroyed by dissension or move so slowly that innovation is minimal. Support for programs and agents of change needs to be a commitment.

The "support" to which the project director refers came quickly from the superintendent and the ES director and very early described the roles these men came to play in the project as arbitrators and diplomats. The superintendent arranged a meeting between the project director and the project principals and, in his words, "gave them all hell"--the director for her lack of sensitivity and for not having consulted with the principals and the principals for their trenchant reaction. The ES director did further fence-mending with the principals.* Although the very considerable diplomatic talents of the ES director managed to smooth over this initial conflict, and the project got under way, hostility and friction are a dominant theme in the experience of this Title III project.

THE FIRST YEAR, FY 1971-1972

The MP was initiated to implement two models of open education strategies in two Eastown elementary schools. The major goal of the project was "changing teacher attitudes toward children." Consequently, the major focus of the project was on staff training and development.

In the first year of the MP, about one thousand students were served from kindergarten through grade 3 in Morningside School and kindergarten through

*The offending pages were revised for the school community, but the original document was sent to the state Title III office with the approval of the superintendent and the ES director.

grade 5 in Jefferson School. Fifty teachers were involved in some aspect of training. Thirty were classroom teachers and 30 student teachers, along with 30 mothers who acted as aides. The initial MP Title III grant for June 1, 1971 to June 30, 1972 was $75,000.*

Project Goals

According to the project director, "the first year we imposed everything--goals and activities. The teachers didn't have any idea what they were doing." The original project application set the following goals for both schools in the first year of the project:

1. By the end of the first year, 85 percent of the children exposed to the open classroom environment will be working at their own ability level.
2. By the end of the first year, 85 percent of the children exposed to the open classroom environment will have the ability to adapt, to use skills learned in one activity and apply them as solutions to other problems, as well as to practice skills (that have been established for their developmental levels by the teachers).
3. By the end of the first year, 85 percent of the children exposed to the open classroom environment will be able to behave in a socially acceptable manner in the informal classroom where formal discipline is not imposed by the teacher. This will include a display of a sense of responsibility toward their work, toward their peers and adults, and in the maintenance of their school.
4. By the end of the first year, 85 percent of the children exposed to the open classroom environment will initially compare equally with their previous rate of growth achievement-aptitude in reading and mathematics.

Although the project was initially intended to include only affective goals, and project personnel continue to see the program as focusing on attitude change (for both children and teachers), the cognitive measures were included and given prominence in response to anxiety on the part of the community--or what the project

*The project documents covering the life of the project present somewhat different funding figures. $75,000 is the figure most commonly used. The project director told us that the MP did not get funded "on the first wave of funding" because the "SEA doesn't believe you can change teacher attitudes"; they believe "that the educational process needed to be packaged as in programmed instruction."

director calls the community's "sense of status." Parents were concerned that their children would "slip" academically as a result of participation in the "experimental" Title III program. "We needed 'hard facts' to convince parents that their children were still 'learning.'" Project principals assured parents that they would keep a very close watch on the progress of children in the program and would not let slippage occur. Accordingly, cognitive goals were explicitly included in the project goal statement.

Project Activities

Staff Training. The first MP training activity was not provided with project funds. In the summer before the project began, the state Title III office provided funds to subsidize a trip to England for project principals and some project teachers so that the British Infant Schools could be observed in operation.* (Participants also used their own money.)

In August 1971, after the trip to England, a two-week workshop was held for all project staff.** The travelers shared their experiences and observations, and consultants were brought in to discuss the philosophy of open education and strategies for implementation. Consultant help and additional staff training were provided throughout the school year. Several meetings a month were held for the entire project staff; 1 1/2-hour grade level meetings were also held in which consultants presented concepts and offered specific suggestions for classroom projects and activities. These meetings were also seen as "peer group" sessions in which teachers shared techniques they found useful--such as record-keeping or bookbinding. In addition, consultants were employed to provide classroom help and to demonstrate strategies for implementing particular concepts. During the first year, the project also offered after-school conferences in which the teachers worked with consultants on such general problems as setting up learning centers. Training activities also included staff visits to other schools and programs.

Training for the teaching staff of the project schools was, in the view of the project director, essentially "retraining." A second component involved training

*The project director, who led the trip, remarked that she would not do this again. "The teachers wanted to play more than they wanted to learn. It was also difficult because the teachers saw the British Infant system before trying to implement it themselves and they hadn't seen it in their own classrooms." She believes that such a trip would have been more valuable after the first year of the project.

**The board of education paid the stipend for teachers to come back two weeks early.

of student teachers from a nearby university. The project provided eight months of supervised training for teacher interns. Since state law permits certification of substitutes after only two years of college, the project arranged certification for the interns so they could substitute for the regular classroom teachers when they attended meetings or made school visits. This also meant that the interns could receive substitute pay from the school district. The project director points to another advantage of the teacher training program: When regular open classroom staff leave the system through attrition, a cadre of teachers trained in open classroom strategies is available for employment in the district.

The project also trained and used parent aides. These parents were valuable in communicating project goals and activities to other members of the community.

Learning Centers. The first and, in the view of project personnel, the most important step in implementing the MP was the physical rearrangement of classrooms--rearranging the traditional classroom furniture and setting up interest or learning centers. This physical rearrangement of classroom space forces the teacher to break away from her traditional one teacher/thirty students mode of teaching and to reorganize the room in small groups. This in turn is thought to promote individualization of instruction. The MP project evaluator commented:

> It seems that along with a physical change in the environment in grades 1-3 has come a change in teacher behavior and a change in student attitudes. The nature of the rooms is such that interaction with large groups is virtually impossible. This has forced the teacher to interact with individuals and to organize classroom instruction so that individuals can react with one another. This has been coupled with, and hence presumably led to, an increase in children's perception of self-worth and their liking for school.

Task Cards. A third major activity of the MP was the development of task cards by the project teachers for use in individualizing instruction. MP staff created task cards that could be used for diagnosis and also permitted the children to exercise choice among a variety of activities. Unquestionably, the involvement of teachers in the development of task cards added considerable work, but it also contributed an intangible sense of pride and ownership in their classroom activities, which doesn't seem to attend the use of standardized texts. The task card activities also appear to have generated a sharing of ideas among teachers and the sense that involvement in the project was a group effort.

Parent Involvement. In light of the parental anxiety that accompanied initiation of the MP, parent activities represented an important part of the first-year

activities. Parent uneasiness took two forms. First, parents were worried that the "permissive" open classroom setting would lead to a neglect of achievement in basic skills areas. Second, many parents (especially fathers) were concerned that the humanistic and individualized atmosphere of an open classroom would not provide their children (particularly their boys) with the competitive experiences they needed to succeed in the world. Both project school principals and central administration maintained an open-door policy throughout the first year and report that they spent many hours with parents, reassuring them and answering their questions. As mentioned above, parents were also involved in the classroom as aides. Each school established a parent committee that was responsible for greeting and escorting visitors. The high level of parent involvement achieved by these strategies is reported to have quieted the anxieties of most parents.

Also, as part of the general strategy to reassure and inform parents, the project director conducted a number of parent orientation meetings or workshops. But these meetings apparently were not as successful as anticipated. According to our respondents, they only served to stir up some uneasiness in the parent community. The project director's intentions were good, but her presentation of the MP concepts and strategies upset the parents. The superintendent remarked:

> The project director did antagonize some of the parents. The main problem seemed to be her very binary way of presenting the open classroom concept. One is good; the other is bad. She also assumed different knowledge and attitudes on the part of the parents. She assumed that they knew more about the philosophy underlying open education and further that they believed in many of the assumptions underlying this approach.

However, as this project got under way and parents had an opportunity to gain first-hand exposure to the new practices and their effects on students, uneasiness abated and parental support became high.

Outcomes

Project Evaluation. Evaluation of the MP's first year was conducted by an educator from a state university. The evaluation design measured the effect of project participation on teacher behavior and student cognitive and affective growth. The evaluation followed an experimental format, contrasting treatment and control schools. In general, the evaluator concluded that the MP had met its stated objectives. Project teachers were exhibiting classroom behavior that was significantly different from that of control teachers and that was congruent with the precepts of open education.

Student achievement appeared to be unaffected by participation in the MP. The evaluator concluded:

> The net effect is for no clear pattern to have emerged. Overall, it was concluded that standardized achievement was unaffected by the switch to open classrooms; it was neither improved nor retarded.

Significant differences were found, however, on student affective measures:

> It was concluded that open classrooms produce more positive affective effects than do traditional classrooms. Obviously, changes in teacher behavior are being transformed into changes in student outcomes.

Dissension and Discord. A second outcome of the first year of project operations was a heightening and solidification of the hostilities that were evident from the outset. Antagonism and resentment focused on a number of issues. Central among these were

- Project evaluation strategies
- The pace (or schedule) of project implementation
- Lack of information and communication

Evaluation activities caused problems at both treatment and control schools. The project schools were upset not only about the amount of testing and observation taking place, but more important about the perceived lack of communication and information about what was taking place. Although the evaluator first spoke to the principals and discussed his design, and made a general presentation to the teachers, many participants did not feel well informed. For example, the principal of Morningside School said:

> The project director hired the evaluator. She never told us what was involved or what he would be doing. Then he came into the school and didn't explain the evaluation strategies in terms either I or my staff could understand. My staff was threatened and confused by what he and his assistant were doing in our school.

Staff members at the control school, Palisades, felt equally in the dark about evaluation strategies. Further, they felt that the evaluation would be biased

because project personnel had been given copies of the affective instruments, in advance of the testing date, while the project director did not permit similar access to Palisades staff. The school principal felt his school was being treated unfairly, objected to the project director's "high-handed" techniques, and consequently refused to continue to serve as a control school in subsequent years.*

Both project schools expressed objections to the pace of implementation demanded by the project director and to her leadership style. For a time, mutiny threatened at both schools. A number of Morningside staff members objected to the project director's manner, which they saw as authoritarian, as well as to what they perceived to be the uncompromising high standards she set for them. The Morningside principal reported that she and her staff were at times upset by the way the project director talked to them. Some Morningside teachers reported that the project director "talked down to us and tried to humiliate us."

Apparently, there were two concurrent solutions to the unrest and tension at Morningside. The project director reports that she got the project back on track at Morningside by playing what she termed a "negative change role." That is, she performed a "negative model of opposing the principal and got the teachers to rally behind her (the principal) by explicitly opposing her myself." Thus, in her view, Morningside teachers agreed to continue with the project out of loyalty to their principal.

The ES director, however, also was central in maintaining involvement and cooperation of Morningside teachers. When members of the school staff complained about the project director and suggested that they "wanted out," the ES director reminded the teachers of their contractual obligation, both as teachers and as participants in the Title III project. He has said:

> When teacher support started to break down during the first year, I emphasized that the teachers had a moral and legal commitment to implement the project--that they had a contract as well as an ethical obligation to the children.

He also did a considerable amount of handholding, sympathizing with teachers about the difficulty of their assignment in dealing with the project director. Loyalty to

*This issue did not have to be confronted, however, because the second-year evaluation employed a formative rather than a summative design. Hence, controls were not used.

the ES director very likely was a major reason many teachers consented to continue with the MP.

The similar problem at Jefferson School, however, did not have such an equitable solution. The principal had never forgiven the project director for her statements to the SEA in the Title III needs assessment. In addition, he is a strong and somewhat paternalistic principal. He and the project director quickly became embroiled in disputes about decisions and the running of the project, and what he saw as her "intrusion" in his school. And, although he agreed with the central tenets of open education, he did not agree with the pace set for implementation. He describes his disagreement with the project director in terms of leadership and philosophical differences over the image of a change agent:

> I would support a positive model in which there was a warm relationship between the person introducing changes and the people who are to implement it. But the project director emphasized a negative model. All we ever heard from her was "push, push, push--we have to get this done in three years."

SEA evaluators noted this dissension in their annual report on the MP conducted in March 1972:

> There is a personality clash between some members of the central administration and the project director. Regardless, the project appears to be running smoothly. The project director is an excellent administrator and the district knows it. She runs a tight ship which is sometimes viewed as being too tight. She is criticized for her lack of finesse with parents in the community and her inability to work with male principals. A little give and take on both sides will probably correct this situation. Indications are that members of the central administration are well aware of this area of concern and have indicated directions for staffing modifications.

However, the SEA evaluators' hopes for a "little give and take on both sides" did not materialize. The project director suggested to the superintendent that the Jefferson principal be replaced, and, further, that his problems were more severe than mere disagreement with her:

> He is totally unhappy with his situation and I don't think he is flexible enough to learn how to be an open classroom principal. We also have a great deal of trouble relating and it does create, through indirection, tensions in the school. It may be that he has learned just enough to start

> afresh and do a better job of school management in a new situation. I guess I have to follow through with asking you to chuck him because I think the man is having serious mental problems. I am afraid for him. I feel mature enough and motherly enough to sympathize, but my ultimate responsibility is to the project and what I hope is for the education of our children.

The principal responded by refusing to have any further contact with the project director, by letting her know that she was not welcome in his school, and by dealing with the project only through intermediaries. The result was that Jefferson School began its second year of the MP with somewhat different goals and activities than Morningside. The project director stated in the second-year Title III application:

> Jefferson School will continue in the project also in a modified manner because of interpersonal relations difficulty with the principal who cannot relate to the project director. He is operating with brakes on and as a negative catalyst. His faculty is divided and dissidence is seething. * Based on past behavior, no support from him has been forthcoming, nor can he be depended upon for achieving open classroom projected goals; whether a full measure of success can be garnered is dubious.
>
> Our inputs to that school will have to be through mediaries. Whether teachers from Jefferson will attend workshops also is doubtful. Supervision will have to be carried out through surrogate eyes. The project director will have only limited access to Jefferson School.

THE SECOND YEAR, FY 1972-1973

Total project funding for the second year was about $77,000. There were 191 additional students as the 4th and 5th grades entered the program at Morningside School, and 8 additional 4th and 5th grade teachers. The student teacher population was the same for the first half of the year (30), and decreased to 15 in the second semester. Parent aid remained about the same (30).

Because of the dispute between the project director and the principal of Jefferson School, the project began its second year with two somewhat different programs operating under the MP umbrella. Morningside began to move toward an integrated day and family grouping, goals that the principal of Jefferson "couldn't identify with."

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*This statement is in contrast with our observations in Eastown. We saw no "seething dissidence" at Jefferson, but instead were impressed with the generally high morale of the faculty and the warm atmosphere of the school.

According to the superintendent,

> The project director was in such conflict with the staff in the first year that she almost turned the project off entirely. The second year was even worse.

The superintendent's concern about the project director's relations with his school personnel reached the point that after the first year of the project he considered firing her. He states:

> I liked the project but I felt that the project director was causing too many problems with the staff and in the district. I called the Title III office and asked if the project director went would the money go, too. They said that the money goes to the district and that if the project director were fired, Eastown would retain its Title III funds.

The superintendent was asked to visit the state Title III office along with the ES director and the project director to straighten out difficulties. It was decided not to fire the project director. It may be that politically and tactically it seemed better to keep the project director, let her take the flak and run the project, thereby leaving positive residual feelings toward the project and the district administration when the project director's tour of duty in Eastown was over. Further, the district needed her. The project director is a highly able administrator, and the project was accomplishing a great deal. Despite these considerable interpersonal difficulties, the project was running smoothly and successfully--so well, in fact, that in the second year of operation (or a year before the project was theoretically eligible) the MP received an 'Educational Pacesetter Award" from members of the President's National Advisory Council on Supplementary Centers and Services. This capped a national validation procedure that designated selected Title III projects as "producer" districts, responsible for active dissemination of their strategies and products.

In addition to continuing the activities undertaken the first year, in the second year the MP began to develop exportable products based on its task cards--a language kit and a mathematics kit--"because we found no suitable material on the market."

THE THIRD YEAR, FY 1973-1974

In the third and final developmental year of the MP, the project operated with a total budget of about $87,000 (including a dissemination grant budget) and involved 950 students, 35 classroom teachers, 30 student teachers, and 40 mothers acting as teacher aides.

The MP continued to operate as two separate models, with Jefferson School explicitly deciding to add no further strategies or developments to its program. The principal said:

> Our goal now is one of consolidation. Both I and my staff feel that we want to let the strategies and philosophies we have acquired so far jell before we add anything new to our repertoire.

Because of its selection as a nationally validated project, MP staff began to shift attention in the third year from local project operation to dissemination of project activities and materials.

IMPACT OF THE MP

Within the District

Project Schools. As the evaluation reports suggest, the MP has resulted in extensive reorganization and redirection of classroom activities and teacher behavior in the project schools. Both Morningside and Jefferson Schools have successfully implemented the central open classroom concepts, although Morningside is further along in implementing the range of activities usually associated with open education. And, based on our observation of another district school which we were told resembled the project schools before initiation of the MP, we would agree with the evaluators that this Title III project represents an extensive departure from previous practices. For reasons discussed above, Morningside seems further along the "open classroom continuum" than Jefferson. But, on the other hand, our observations at both schools led us to conclude that while neither school is likely to return to pre-MP behavior after the withdrawal of federal funds, the less extensive change that has occurred at Jefferson School is in some respects more stable. That is, we suspect that after the withdrawal of Title III monies and the discontinuation of the MP per se, Jefferson will continue doing more or less what it is doing now, while Morningside may slip back a bit, perhaps closer to the more structured level of Jefferson. Such "slippage," however, would not violate central

precepts of open education but simply be a response to the absence of a project leader as well as a reduction in classroom aides.

One reason that might explain the greater stability we sensed at Jefferson is that the school moved a bit slower in implementing MP concepts, and, further, the staff acted as a group. The project director herself said that the teachers at Jefferson tended to support the principal, rather than herself--who was asking for greater change. This sense of unification was very much encouraged and supported by the Jefferson principal. Morningside, on the other hand, did not have such strong or confident leadership on the part of its principal. Many in Morningside felt that their principal was "manipulated" by the project director and that the latter was running the school, not the principal. Consequently, although morale is high at Morningside, there is less cohesiveness, and one suspects that there came a point in the project where some teachers implemented MP strategies not primarily because they wanted to but because the project director told them to. Thus, although most (if not all) teachers at Morningside support open classroom precepts, without the project director behind them pushing, it would not be surprising if they slip back to a level of implementation with which they have the most experience or are the most comfortable, rather than continuing with the newest strategies and adding more.

But these are incremental differences. Our observations in Eastown left no doubt that the MP has been successfully implemented, has achieved its objectives, and that teacher enthusiasm and principal support will lead to incorporation of this innovation by project schools.

Other District Schools. Because of the fears concerning the possible adverse reaction of parents and other members of this conservative community, the project director has been, in her words, "buried by the central administration and not permitted to make presentations to the community or to prepare news releases for the local papers. She reports: "I have been kept in a closet. I was not even allowed to present the project before the school board hearings last year."

MP concepts are, however, spreading (albeit slowly) in the Eastown school district. The diffusion of MP practices and concepts within the district has two sources. First, a number of the teacher interns trained under the auspices of the MP have been hired by the district. These teachers have brought open classroom concepts and strategies to their schools. (We saw one school, for example, in which the influence of the former MP intern could be traced along a corridor as teachers visited her classroom and implemented her ideas in their own classrooms.)

The second way in which MP concepts have been diffused is through the in-service training workshops run by MP personnel. The project operates workshops for both teachers and school principals interested in learning about open education. Participants in the workshops include both Eastown personnel and personnel from outside the district. According to the project director, the principals' workshops are explicitly oriented toward "training change agents." She believes that commitment to an idea such as the MP runs through three levels: first a rhetoric level, then a philosophical level, and then an operational level. "When you are just committed to the rhetoric level, at the first sign of a problem you backtrack. I'm trying to get the principals to the implementation or operational level."

Teacher workshops consist of ten sessions stressing classroom practices. These sessions cost the district approximately $2200. There is additional incentive (besides self-improvement) for teachers to participate--they receive credit that can be applied toward the credit points required for advancement on the district salary scale.

Within the Community

According to the education reporter for the Daily News, parents and other members of the community who do not live in the project areas are generally unaware of the existence of the MP. And, among those nonproject parents who do know about the project, there is not impressive support. The project director explained this situation in political terms:

> Until our validation, we . . . kept a low profile regarding local publicity about our project. There were early signs that "open classroom" would become a political issue.
>
> After validation, we had a "coming out" party, with press coverage invited. And several news articles resulted, including photos of our teachers and children (seated on rugs). Within a few days, there was a "raid" on the classroom by the local fire department. They ordered the removal of her rug . . . and in a few days it "disappeared."*
>
> This seems to be a harassment and one that coincides with the political activity being generated here in Eastown for the forthcoming mayoral primaries.
>
> It is best, therefore, to continue a low profile here in Eastown. . . .

*In fact, the fire department removed all rugs from all classrooms--whether they were fire resistant or not.

The education reporter, however, explained community reactions somewhat differently. While she would agree with the project director that the political climate of Eastown has not been particularly supportive of the MP (a "liberal" concept) and the school board is known to be against the idea, she feels that the project itself could have provided better information to the community, even within "low profile" constraints. The reporter, for example, said that she herself remained skeptical about the project because of an absence of control data. She felt that the community (and the school board) would like to see solid evaluation results. A second reason the reporter cited for community criticism with the project has been the effect of MP students on the middle schools. "There have been rumbles about MP kids as unbearable, undisciplined, and so on. The secondary school people are very traditional and MP kids aren't used to sitting still for long periods or being told what to do all day." The reporter's third reservation centers on the affective goals of the project. She wonders if the students are "really achieving self-reliance, self-discipline as the project claims. If they are, that would be enough evidence for me, but none of the measures, in my opinion, have been entirely convincing."

A fourth reason offered by the reporter is consistent with the project director's explanation--that members of this conservative community are not anxious to change, particularly since they feel their schools are already doing an "excellent" job. There is also a somewhat straw-man movement afoot in the community opposing the MP on the grounds that schools should offer similar programs within the district to avoid problems involved in transferring from one school to another.

Outside the District

Visitations. The project had a formal visitation period in November 1973 in which visitors were permitted to observe the two project schools. (Our respondents noted that, because of the dispute between the Jefferson principal and the project director, visitors are usually scheduled through Morningside rather than Jefferson.) Forty-one districts sent representatives--superintendents, curriculum directors, principals, teachers, specialists, parents, and students--to visit, in all, over 200 people. In addition, the project operates a regular program of visits. On Wednesday mornings, parent hostesses introduce visitors to the schools. Conferences are held with the principal and director (if present) and then visitors are allowed free access to classrooms if accompanied by an administrator. The project

director reports that these visits "proved motivational and kept teacher performance at a high and consistent level." We heard at a meeting of the advisory council, however, that the teachers in Morningside fairly unanimously would like to reduce the visits. They see it as an intrusion and disruptive.

Workshops and Presentations. The MP has developed an effective "peer group" dissemination approach, sending their teachers and parents to interested districts to explain MP concepts and to offer practical help in getting such a program started. In the project director's view, this approach is particularly effective because "it circumvents criticism about consultants who, according to teachers, can't give them anything because they do not teach children, etc." MP teachers have given group sessions outside the district as well as provided direct in-classroom help to teachers implementing open classroom concepts. In addition, the project director and members of the project staff made a number of presentations of the MP at education meetings around the state.

Consumer Districts. As a nationally validated project, the MP has been designated as a "producer" district, charged to disseminate MP strategies to "consumer" districts. In 1973-1974 the MP began disseminating to three districts. Designation as a consumer district involves a contractual obligation to begin implementing project concepts. The producer district, on the other hand, is obligated to evaluate the consumer district's progress and provide technical assistance. According to project staff, consumer districts have had varying success in implementing the project--which can be explained, in the project director's view, by the degree of commitment held by district administrators.

Project Materials. Teacher development of task cards has resulted in a language arts kit which is sold through the project office; a math concepts and skills kit is being developed.

Placement of Teacher Interns. Project staff report that there is some evidence that MP concepts and strategies have also been disseminated by the employment of their interns in other districts.

Impact of the MP on the Local University. The coordinator of student teachers at the local university felt that the MP had a great effect on the teacher training curriculum. Student teachers teach in a variety of schools Monday through Thursday and then convene on campus Friday for methods courses. The Eastown student teachers were the only ones involved in an open classroom experience. Typically, when methods were being presented, MP teachers asked for information about how to teach in open structure. This led to discussions of varying educational

methods and caused the students and staff to examine alternative ways of thinking and of teaching, an intellectual exercise too often lacking in schools of education.

Because districts want to hire people with open classroom experience, the Eastown internship program has the highest hiring rate among the university students. Therefore, the Eastown interns have more influence on campus and are respected and listened to both by faculty and fellow students. For these reasons, the impact of the MP on the university has been considerable.

THE IMPACT OF TITLE III AND THE EFFECT OF THE PROGRAM ON LEA INNOVATIVENESS

Although one or two schools in the district were beginning to incorporate concepts of open education before the MP came to Eastown, these activities were moving slowly and did not embrace whole-school organizational change. Given the conservative nature of the community and the very stable (mostly tenured) character of the school staff, it is unlikely that the degree of change represented by the MP could have come about in Eastown without Title III. Certainly this innovative strategy would not have been implemented as extensively and quickly had the district been left to its own devices. Furthermore, it is doubtful that Eastown staff would have formulated an MP changeover model or perhaps even a Title III proposal without the stimulation and direction of an outsider.

The Title III grant also served to "legitimize" the demands and expectations of MP advocates once the project got under way. The district and staff commitments contained in the funding agreements were used as contractual glue to hold the project together when rebellion, disenchantment, or fatigue threatened to impede or cripple project implementation. Although the ES director probably could have held some measure of the project together through court, cajoling, and consolation, the legal Title III project commitments served as an effective "stick" when the "carrots" were few and far between if, in fact, they were visible at all.

Although Title III guidelines and requirements served to foster implementation, especially during the darkest days of the project, participants do not feel that project guidelines also imposed restraints. Project staff and district personnel believe that the Title III program permitted them sufficient latitude to carry out their ideas and that the state Title III office was especially helpful. The only complaints voiced have to do with the "ridiculous" number of forms to be completed.

Although this Title III project had an impressive impact on the project schools, it did not seem to have any significant influence on the general climate of

"innovativeness" in Eastown. For a number of reasons cited previously, most in the community were unaware of the existence of this Title III project and the activities of participating schools. Thus the Title III project did not heighten general community interest in bringing about change in the schools--in fact, some think it precipitated a minor movement against diversity in the Eastown schools. Because of community indifference and school board resistance to change, it seems likely that central administrators will continue to move slowly and make only very marginal changes in Eastown school programs and practices. The successful implementation and outcome of the MP Title III project does not seem to have strengthened their hand.

CONCLUSIONS

The Moon Project is unusual in that it met all of the outcome measures we proposed to describe "successful" innovation:

- It represented a central and significant change in school operations.
- Objective project evaluations reported success in meeting stated project goals for teachers and students.
- The project was successful from the perspective of teachers, administrators, and parents in the project schools.
- The project was successfully implemented.
- The project has become institutionalized or incorporated in project schools.
- There is already evidence of dissemination or diffusion, and every indication that there will be more, both inside and outside the district.

The MP is also unusual among Title III projects we examined in that

- It was designed, brought into the district, and run by an outsider.
- It made a self-conscious effort to effect change in a standard setting by designing and developing a model that did not "put extra dollars into anything the district could not provide for itself."

Although all this is unusual in comparison with the activities and achievements of most innovative projects, from another perspective what is most interesting

about the MP is the nature of the change process that characterizes the project. In the course of project development and implementation, just about every organizational axiom that many theorists (and practitioners) believe to be critical to successful innovation was violated. Indeed, as a review of case studies of innovative effects will suggest, many innovative efforts have been alleged to flounder on just <u>one</u> transgression or infraction of the purported norms of organizational change. In contrast with the supposed requisites of successful innovation, the MP evidenced:

- Little or no "user" involvement in the initial planning stage.
- Communication difficulties between the project director and participating staff.
- An authoritarian (rather than democratic) style of decisionmaking--particularly regarding the initial setting of goals and describing of project activities.
- Little or no demand for change in the school or parent community.
- Hostility toward the project director, particularly at the outset.
- Staff discontent in the project schools.
- No (or very few) additional incentives offered to participants--that is, teachers did not receive extra pay or time off, or enhanced stature in the community; and kudos were a long time in coming to project principals.

Although the project director was almost solely responsible for designing, introducing, and administering the project, it is likely that the MP would have been crippled without the active support and very considerable diplomatic and political talents of the ES director. Thus, in this instance one could say there were two different types of "change agents"--one to take things apart and point the way (the project director) and another to put them back together (the ES director)--that worked together to achieve project success. Many students of innovation suggest that an outside change agent is often the most effective strategy for initiating and implementing change. But the Eastown experience with the MP suggests that the innovative project must also have the staunch "inside" support

of someone in a position of power,* and that this individual must have the trust and confidence of district personnel. Project teachers are proud of their accomplishments now, but "pride" would hardly be the word to describe their feelings in the first two years of the project when they remember feeling hassled, overworked, and coerced. It was the ES director whose role seemed most critical in holding the project together during this time.

Another lesson that is suggested by the MP experience is that if an innovative program succeeds in changing the attitudes of participants, incorporation or institutionalization will almost surely follow. Eastown teachers report that they "could never go back" to their "old" classroom practices. Although one could imagine circumstances (such as fiscal problems or significant enrollment increases) that could require modification in the present open classroom strategies, Eastown project teachers seem to have internalized project precepts as part of their general behavior.

The obvious question arising from the Eastown experience is whether this heavy-handed, authoritarian, and, to many participants, painful way of bringing about change was necessary. Could a more "positive" model of change have worked in Eastown? Both the superintendent and the ES director suspect that, in the instance of conservative Eastown, this strategy probably was necessary.

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*A member of the school board remarked that "the ES director really runs the district. The superintendent doesn't have time to get involved in curriculum matters, and he gives the director free rein on establishing district policies and practices as they relate to the schools."

CENTERVILLE

Peter W. Greenwood and Gail Zellman

THE DISTRICT

Centerville is a small community located in rolling farm country in the upper Midwest. During the Civil War it was a stopping-off point for slaves moving north on the Underground Railroad. About a third of the district's 10,000 inhabitants are black. The town is centered around Centerville College, a small prestigious liberal arts college.

The school district consists of three elementary schools, a junior high (now part of a middle school), a high school, and a vocational school operated jointly with several other districts. The people from Centerville either earn their living at the college, on the surrounding farms, as local tradesmen or professionals, or they commute to the surrounding towns.

Before the initiation of the TANDEM project, the educational programs offered by the public schools had been quite traditional. Nevertheless, the community makeup was considered more cosmopolitan than in surrounding towns, and some good teachers were attracted to the district by this cosmopolitan reputation, even though Centerville does not pay its teachers as well as some of the surrounding districts. Also, people who did not want their children to go to school with blacks did not settle in Centerville.

Long before de facto school segregation became a political issue in other communities, Centerville faced this problem squarely. The town's three elementary schools are no more than ten blocks from each other at the farthest point. But even in this small community, residential housing patterns had created a somewhat segregated situation in the schools. To break this pattern, the schools were reorganized with one school designated for 1st and 2nd grades, another for 3rd and 4th grades, and a third for 5th and 6th grades. The two lower schools both had kindergartens so the kindergarteners wouldn't have to be bussed. This change took place approximately ten years before TANDEM began.

Even with this plan, the Centerville schools still had their problems. There was a great deal of hostility between racial groups. Parents became concerned and fearful about letting their children go to school. The junior high and high school were particularly bad. The blacks roamed the halls in gangs, intimidating

whites. Students left the school at will and wandered around the town causing numerous minor problems.

During 1969 the blacks walked out of the high school in protest against existing conditions. They demanded more black faculty, a black studies program, etc. The administration reacted as many others had in those early days of racial confrontation. An ultimatum was given ordering the students either to return to school or face expulsion. Although many did not return, the administration finally backed down and gradually allowed the protesting students to return to school.

The handling of this confrontation apparently weakened support for the school administration. The superintendent was under fire from the black community on other counts as well. He had been the moving force behind the construction of a vocationally oriented continuation school in the Centerville district that was also to be supported by other surrounding school districts. The purpose of this school was to provide a transitional program for students who were about to drop out and go to work--a need that the high school was not meeting. Many blacks, however, saw the construction of this school as simply one more trick by the white power structure to prevent their children from receiving a complete education. Although the school was eventually finished, it generated considerable resentment in parts of the black community.

In addition to the obvious problems of racial conflict, there was a growing community concern with the quality of the schools. The words of reform writers such as Silberman, Illich, Holt, and Kozol were echoed by concerned members of the community, including several members of the Centerville College faculty. The continuing expression of these concerns apparently had a serious demoralizing effect on the staff.

The school superintendent, in his last year before retirement (which he accepted somewhat prematurely due to the growing community dissatisfaction with the quality of the schools), established a special ad hoc committee, consisting of teachers, parents, and Centerville faculty members, which was to draft a new educational philosophy statement for the district reflecting community views.

For the better part of a year this committee met to argue among themselves and to listen to others. From their deliberations there evolved a document consisting of 21 statements or ideals that generally embraced the notions of openness, respect for the individual and his needs, that learning should be pleasurable, the need for development of sound human relationships and a sense of social responsibility, students' responsibility for their own education, an emphasis on success

over failure, the systematic evaluation of educational programs, etc. This philosophical statement was readily adopted by the school board.

When the superintendent retired, the board members instituted a series of meetings throughout the community to solicit views as to what people wanted in a new superintendent. The board made it clear that once the new man was hired he would be in complete charge of running the schools. And so it was to be.

INITIATION

For most of his educational career, the new superintendent had served in big city schools, first as a teacher and then as a high school vice-principal. In that time he had seen the schools shift from 99-percent white to predominantly black. He was familiar with the type of racial confrontations found in transitional schools. When he applied to Centerville, he was just finishing his Ph. D. at the state university and was working in the laboratory school. Even though he was one of 80 candidates interviewed for the job, he immediately was offered the position.

The superintendent was excited by the prospect of trying to implement the board's new philosophy. He told board members that he would spend his first year moving around the district finding out where the problems lay and report back to the board with a plan for how they could be solved.

During his first year the superintendent was often in the public eye. In Centerville the schools are the focus of local politics. Everybody wondered how the new man would perform. One of his first important actions was to hire a deputy superintendent for business affairs. The previous superintendent had been saddled with a deputy superintendent for curriculum whom he could not control and who caused problems for which the office was held accountable. This deputy quit when he wasn't offered the superintendent's job. On finding a replacement, the superintendent turned over the business affairs of the district to his new deputy, and he supervised curriculum matters himself.

The new superintendent, as well as many of the teachers on his staff, recognized that major changes would be required to solve the district's problems. In scouting around for possible sources of funds to bring about the required changes, the superintendent learned that the state's Title III program had designated about eight priority areas in which it was seeking projects. One of these involved developing models of differentiated staffing and team teaching--an approach that the superintendent had wanted to try. He immediately drafted the bare outlines of what was finally to become the TANDEM proposal. The program would go into all three of the district's elementary schools since all of them were in need of major change.

The project would cover only 50 percent of the student body in each school so that parents would have a clear choice, and so that comparisons would be drawn between it and the existing program. It would involve team teaching and differentiated staffing, as suggested by the state. It would also involve multiage grouping, a concept logically suggested by the existing organization of the elementary schools. It would also employ an individualized approach to student instruction, a concept that the superintendent had heartily embraced during his graduate training.

After he had described the general outlines of the project, he called in the young school psychologist and director of child study. To the psychologist fell the job of specifying, in operational terms, the objectives of the project and how it could be evaluated. He was to carry the initial burden of explaining the project to the staff. His efforts were then combined with the superintendent's and submitted to the school administrators for their suggestions. Without any strong dissent, the proposal was then submitted to the state for Title III funding.

During the fall and winter of 1970, the proposal went through many revisions, mainly to meet the technical and administrative requirements of the state. The substance did not change. In February 1971 the district was told it would get its funds, approximately $150,000 per year for three years.

There was one member of the Centerville College faculty who had been particularly interested in the district schools. Several of his students had done their teacher training in the district. Although he had earned four separate master's degrees in teaching and administration and was working on his doctorate, he was much more comfortable with the hectic pace of project management and operations. He learned of TANDEM from the local newspapers and called up the superintendent to discuss his ideas on the project. The two men found that they were in close agreement as to how the project should be run. Although funds would not be forthcoming until July, the project director, as a volunteer, started devoting a major part of his day toward planning the implementation of the project. He met constantly with teachers and administrators through the spring of 1971.

SUPPORT

When word of TANDEM first leaked out to the community through the press or through the grapevine, there was considerable concern. Parents worried that their kids would be wandering aimlessly around the schools, doing whatever they

wanted. Would they ever learn enough to get into college? Gradually the parents' fears were pacified, and no organized resistance ever developed against the project, in spite of the agitation shown at the superintendent's first few public meetings where he attempted to explain the program.

Many of the teachers immediately embraced the project. The administrators were slower to bring around; they were characterized as being much more skeptical, although open to evidence.

Two women who were principals when the project began have since retired. They both remain active in the district and have supported the project.

IMPLEMENTATION

Plans for implementation began immediately in the early spring of 1971 after the district learned it was to receive Title III funds. During this phase, the future project director participated as a volunteer with the superintendent and psychologist in working out plans for staff selection and training. Many of the teachers who were selected to participate in the project began working with the project director to more fully articulate the concept described in the project proposal. Administrators were particularly concerned that the project be developed in such a way that the staff would eventually feel that it was their program.

Teacher Selection

Staff recruitment began before the project director was formally hired. All of the teachers received memos urging them to meet with the administrators to learn about the project. A series of meetings with the teachers was held in which various aspects of the project and the demands that would be made on the participating teachers were presented.

The project was to be based on the humanistic approach to teaching--which is founded on the concept that children have more need to establish warm relationships with adults than to be drilled on educational skills. This approach requires teachers to change their picture of students from one of raw material who should be crammed full of knowledge to one of accepting them as individuals, each with his own needs, including those for love, support, and encouragement. The project design also required the teachers to be more creative in developing curriculum materials, centers, and courses that appealed to the students' interests.

Working with one of his committees, the project director drafted a statement of qualifications for teachers participating in the program. Everyone knew that it

would require overtime hours, but teachers who participated would receive an extra $1600 during the school year.

The teacher qualification statement apparently allowed many of the teachers to screen themselves out, particularly those who felt that they were not comfortable with the humanistic approach.

The project director and a senior teacher who had served on the ad hoc committee that drafted the education philosophy statement interviewed those teachers who wanted to become part of TANDEM. They looked particularly for teachers who were sympathetic to the project's goals, and were capable, flexible, and innovative. The selection process was facilitated by the fact that either the senior teacher or the director had at one time or another observed many of the teachers actually working in the classroom.

Everyone reported that this procedure was highly successful in two respects:

1. TANDEM recruited a group of extremely capable teachers who were dedicated to the project.
2. No one who really wanted to participate was left out, and no one who did not wish to get involved in TANDEM was required to do so.

Pre-Service Training

Pre-service training was conducted during the summer of 1971 by the project director, and teachers received extra pay for their participation. There were two weeks of daily sessions (including Saturdays) in July during which basic TANDEM concepts, such as nongradedness, were introduced and discussed. Other topics included team teaching, equipping interest centers and learning resources laboratories, and the process of goal-setting and individual student evaluation. The group visited the state university laboratory school, which employs many of these concepts. There was additional training in August.

Student Selection

The proposal called for TANDEM to be implemented for 50 percent of the student body in each of the district's three elementary schools. This 50-percent split was to provide parents and children with some choice in the form of their educational program and to provide a control group against which the performance of TANDEM students could be compared.

Parents were provided with literature describing the program and allowed to designate whether or not they wanted their children to participate. Only a small percentage expressed a preference and these were all accommodated.

The remaining children were assigned so as to provide two comparable groups in each school according to race, socioeconomic status, achievement level, sex, and behavior.

CURRENT PROJECT CHARACTERISTIC PROGRAM

TANDEM is currently operating in half of the classrooms of the three elementary schools, and across-the-board in the junior high. Its primary features are:

- Team teaching
- Integrated curriculum
- Increased student responsibility
- Individualized/humanistic approach to learning

Each of the elementary schools contains 12 to 14 classrooms so that each TANDEM team is comprised of about seven teachers. The teams select their own leader. Each team meets together several times a day to discuss common problems or to plan the curriculum. The structure of the program requires that the team interact constantly to discuss scheduling matters, to make plans, or to deal with the problems of a particular student. Although it appears to require much more planning than a traditional classroom does, all of the teachers we interviewed said they would prefer not to return to a traditional self-contained classroom.

Within TANDEM, the activity centers and short (two-week) mini-courses, which are offered for the students' selection, are designated as I-Cs or inquiry centers. About half of the student's academic time during a school day is devoted to the I-Cs, with the rest taken up by more traditional skill areas such as math, language arts, or reading.

A student may have three or four teachers during a day for each of his different classes. For the basic skills, the students are usually grouped by achievement level for that particular subject. During the I-Cs, the students are grouped heterogeneously according to their own subject interests. Thus, any one student will be grouped with many different students at various times of the day.

The I-Cs are the principal vehicle for allowing student self-direction and providing an integrated curriculum. In designing an I-C, the teachers are supposed to respond creatively to the students' interests. The subject matter offered runs

from puppets, kites, and geology for younger students to bicycle repair, minerals, nature walks, and consumer fraud for the older ones. New I-Cs start about every two weeks. Before each new period begins, students are given a list of the subjects to be offered and allowed to pick those they will attend. Provisions are also made for self-directed study by students. Although this option is seldom used by the students, there are a few outstanding examples of independent work.

The parents report that their children are genuinely enthusiastic about the I-Cs and are eager to talk about them. They also claim that the I-Cs result in much more thorough learning than traditional courses do.

Manifestations of the individualized, humanistic approach are difficult to document during a short period of observation. We did observe that TANDEM classrooms tended to be run much more informally than their self-contained counterparts, with a greater quantity and variety of material available throughout the room. We also observed that for many of the TANDEM classes, the students seemed to be working on individual or small group assignments with the teacher circulating among the group.

Administrative Structure

A new administrative structure for the district has evolved during the last few years of the project, resulting directly from TANDEM experience. When the superintendent came in, there was a principal who ran each building--one for each of the three elementary schools and the junior high. At the present time, just two principals handle these four schools, with executive teachers in each building responsible for day-to-day operations. Lakeview and Monroe schools make up the elementary unit while the upper elementary school, Cascade, with 5th and 6th grades, has been merged with the junior high into a middle school.

The executive teachers in each of the elementary schools are former TANDEM team leaders. They receive extra compensation for their work and do not carry any regular teaching assignments.

Within TANDEM the teams seem to function democratically. Most of the executive teachers are so pleased with the team operation that they are encouraging teachers in the self-contained classroom to form teams also, if only for moral support.

Individual Schools

The most striking aspects of TANDEM to the outside viewer are the similarities and consistency of approach across all TANDEM classrooms. The educational approach is the same, despite differences among schools in physical plants or the needs of particular age groups.

Lakeview. Lakeview is a modern elementary school built on an open, one-floor plan. The principal, who retired last year, had a hand in its design. Her commitment to innovation can be seen in the "big room" that she had built on and that has become the physical center of the TANDEM program at Lakeview.

Lakeview has four self-contained classrooms and two open classrooms on the non-TANDEM side. The TANDEM wing is separated from the rest of the school by a set of doors. The self-contained classrooms generally looked traditional. The two open classrooms were physically combined and appeared informal in atmosphere. These classes were set up to accommodate children whose parents wanted them in TANDEM when the demand exceeded the program's capacity.

The TANDEM area contains six classrooms, one very large room and the school library. The setup was impressive. The classrooms appeared to be structured in an open manner to varying degrees. Some had desks, which were arranged in large squares or other nontraditional ways. Others had no desks at all but large rugs for the children to work on. Each TANDEM child was given a box in which to keep materials, workbooks, and projects. The box is kept in the home-base classroom.

Before TANDEM, the "big room" was used for language arts and crafts in a rather haphazard way. It is very large and fully carpeted. Two small rooms open onto it which the teachers use as preparation areas. The big room itself is divided informally into several different work areas. These areas house I-C and activity areas. This year's team leader is in charge of the big room. She took on this task because of her experience with English open education.

The big room seems to serve its function well. Children come in and settle down to work quickly. Its operation varies with the individual teacher. One of the classes we observed was assigned to work on a math exercise, and were told not to use the activity centers until the exercise was done. Two other teachers encouraged their students to do whatever they wished. The children appeared able to make choices and use their time effectively. During one period, several children worked alone in math books. Groups of children sat on the floor around a teacher who was reading a story. Other children read alone. Small groups of children worked puzzles together, while others were engaged in story writing.

The team leader feels that the children must be trained to use the big room effectively. She encourages teachers to bring classes in at the beginning of the year and explained the kinds of things they can do in the room and how to decide what to do. She has a policy for children who can't decide what to do within the first 20 minutes. She suggests they do some reading.

TANDEM teachers and students conform to a fairly rigid schedule. Teachers must report by 7:30 a.m. At 8:15 children report to the home-base classroom. This class contains both 1st and 2nd graders. The home-base teacher is ultimately responsible for the children in her home base, though it was repeatedly stressed that all teachers feel responsible for all the children.* In the home base, children work on their own projects or do math or reading. At 8:45 all TANDEM children assemble together in the big room. The assembly period is used to share projects and plans. Often children in an I-C will present a short program for the other children.

After the assembly, children have a one-hour language arts class. These classes are graded with homogeneous ability grouping, although a few very bright 1st graders do participate in 2nd grade language arts classes. After a short recess, children have a home base or big room period.

An hour in the afternoon is spent in home bases or the big room. At 1:15 children go to I-Cs that last until the I-C evaluation in the home base at 2:20.

Much of what goes on in the classroom is left to the individual teacher as it was before. For example, although the project director encourages parental involvement, only some of the teachers actively recruited parents, and only one teacher made home visits.

In 1973-74, Lakeview tried to increase the amount of sharing of ideas and equipment between TANDEM and non-TANDEM teachers. The executive teacher thought this was a very important part of her job. As the project funding ended, she felt that she could begin to spread the benefits of TANDEM around more actively than in the past. She has made some structural changes at Lakeview to facilitate this sharing. For example, she has turned a formal classroom into a teacher's lounge for all teachers. She has more actively encouraged non-TANDEM teachers to use TANDEM supplies in 1973-74. Non-TANDEM teachers could visit TANDEM classrooms because the executive teacher provides substitutes for them as well as for TANDEM teachers who want to observe program activities.

*When asked how it was possible to be responsible for as many as 150 children, most teachers agreed that they barely learned all the children's names in a year, so that, in fact, the home-base teacher did bear the majority responsibility for keeping track of the students.

The one sour note at Lakeview seems to be strained relationships between the executive teacher and the principal, brought about in part by TANDEM. After the first year of the project, Lakeview had apparently developed into the strongest team with the best program. When the principal retired, the former principal of the school with the weakest team and the least commitment to TANDEM was placed in charge of Lakeview and Monroe. When he attempted to modify some of the policies at the school, the team resisted with the support of the district. Because of this showdown, the principal's role at Lakeview is limited to purely administrative matters, and he remains a somewhat vocal critic of much of the project. It is unlikely that he can survive much longer in the district.

Monroe School. TANDEM at Monroe is in most respects very much like the program at Lakeview. Monroe is an old school, but the new wing has been given over to TANDEM, and this area is bright and cheerful. The older part is dark and very traditional in appearance.

The TANDEM area is dominated by a big room which is carpeted. Classroom areas are arranged in an open manner. TANDEM teachers share an office next to the big room.

According to the TANDEM team leader, the program schedule sounds very structured. Three bells ring between 8:00 and 8:15, and TANDEM children report to home base where attendance is taken. After this they attend three 40-minute classes --math, reading, and language arts. The classes are nongraded and heterogeneously grouped except for a special remedial reading class. After the three classes, children report to home base, have lunch, and then report again to home base after lunch. In the afternoon, the children have I-Cs for two hours and gym or another specialized class for a half-hour, and then return to home base before the school day ends. A series of three bells ends the day. This schedule is reversed for half the children. That is, half the children have I-Cs in the morning and classes in the afternoon. Thus, TANDEM teachers at Monroe break down into two subteams.

Within this fairly structured day, attempts are made at individualization whenever possible. The staff has prepared language and math booklets that the children work on at their own speed. A child completes one of these booklets and is tested by the teacher. When it appears that the child has mastered the material in one booklet, he proceeds to the next one. We saw an impressive display of math

booklets, coded and color-keyed so that children can select the appropriate ones for themselves and progress at their own pace. The material in the reading class is entirely the individual child's choice, though teachers may make suggestions if a child's choices seem unrealistically high or low. I-C curriculum is largely determined by the teachers with some input from the children. A few come down from "on high." For example, a dental health curriculum must be presented, and this is done in a mandatory I-C. Monroe uses differentiated staffing. The staff is divided in terms of "content areas." Two of the six teachers concentrate on math while four concentrate on language arts.

The project at Monroe may not have the enthusiastic support from the executive teacher that it has at Lakeview. Although the Monroe teacher was also a TANDEM team leader last year, he seems much less committed to the program. This is reflected in his closer relationship with the principal and his unwillingness to talk much about TANDEM.

He reported that there was considerable jealousy between TANDEM and non-TANDEM teachers at the beginning, but it gradually dissipated for a number of reasons:

- Non-TANDEM teachers feel that TANDEM staff members worked extremely hard and more than earned the extra money they received.
- Non-TANDEM staff benefited from the presence of the program. For example, a resource room was created at Monroe that both TANDEM and non-TANDEM staff could use, and new programs were developed that non-TANDEM children could also participate in. For example, last year TANDEM children participated in a camping trip and non-TANDEM children did not. This created a great deal of animosity in the school. This year all the children will go. The joint trip has improved relations between TANDEM and non-TANDEM staff.

The executive teacher has also set up curriculum committees at Monroe School that cut across TANDEM-non-TANDEM lines to facilitate discussion of what children should know as their schooling proceeds. He feels that TANDEM has presented many administrative problems, particularly in scheduling. In general, he has wound up changing non-TANDEM schedules to conform to the needs of TANDEM. This has created some bad feelings.

Our impression at Lakeview, and to a lesser extent at Monroe, was that TANDEM is a genuine novelty. Children worked independently, looked happy, and

seemed to be involved in their work. Teachers at both schools were enthusiastic about the program. We felt that real attempts had been made to individualize instruction, given the limits of the program and the teachers' concern that the children learn basic skills. This concern with basic skills seemed to be more prevalent at Monroe and is reflected there in the more structured nature of the TANDEM program. Reports from parents indicate that many feel that the program in the two open classrooms at Lakeview is actually less structured than the TANDEM program.

Cascade School. Cascade School, with its 5th and 6th grades, has been combined with the junior high into a middle school presided over by a principal who is new to the district. He came to Centerville directly from a graduate program at the state university and is the first outsider to join the project in an administrative position.

It was no accident that he was picked to replace the principal who has now moved to Monroe and Lakeview. Cascade was looked on as the weakest school in TANDEM, and the junior high program was considered a complete disaster. Part of Cascade's problems resulted from a very creative, but unstructured team leader during the project's first year and a failure to ever correct the problems he allowed to develop.

The new principal is a strong and demanding administrator. Although he devoted much of his first year's efforts to straightening out the junior high, he was beginning to shake up Cascade. In addition to making a number of staff changes, he was also beginning to have the staff take a more critical view of the curriculum content, particularly those efforts devoted to improving basic skills.

One striking difference between TANDEM and other open-classroom projects we have observed is the almost complete lack of assessment records for individual students. None of the classes we observed used any form of contracting to record individual programs. All assessment is done informally by the home-base teacher, often relying on progress reports from the student's other teachers. The principal apparently is also concerned with the level of assessment taking place and is taking steps to increase it.

The Cascade school building, like every other school in the district except Lakeview, is old. Like Monroe it has a new wing that has been given to the TANDEM classes. During the first year of the project, the cleavage between

TANDEM and non-TANDEM staff was aggravated by maintaining two separate lounges. At the present time, there is only one lounge, but since it is in the TANDEM area, it gets much heavier use from the TANDEM teachers. The working space for the staff is very crowded compared with workrooms available at Lakeview.

Junior High. The junior high, although formally not part of TANDEM, receives some Title III funds and operates along the same lines. During TANDEM's second year, a four-teacher team operated as an experiment in the school without much apparent success.

When the new principal took over, he made a number of changes that were greatly appreciated by the community. He fixed the bus schedules so that students wouldn't be loitering before and after school. He stopped the practice of students wandering around town during the lunch hour and causing problems. He eliminated study halls, resulting in a shorter school day for some students.

To run the school, he divided the staff into two teams, each headed by a team leader and an assistant, operating under an executive teacher. Policy for the school is set by the team. When he learned that none of the staff was very familiar with those kids who were the school's big troublemakers, he instituted a counseling system involving all of the adults in the building so that every student would have a friend or ombudsman.

He fired 5 of 6 teachers who he felt were incompetent and recruited outstanding replacements. Although it is not easy to simply dismiss teachers, the principal claims that in his experience the community will back you up if you construct a good case against a poor teacher. All of this turnover was achieved voluntarily in lieu of dismissal proceedings.

Several people we interviewed said they had felt intimidated by hostile black youngsters when they entered the school, before the new principal took over. Now they admit that this strain is completely gone. The school appears to be a lively interesting place to visit. The only inconsistent note we observed was that the executive teacher seemed to be overly concerned with catching or disciplining students who misbehaved. The principal's response to this observation was that we should have seen how bad it was before.

The staff has also developed a unified arts program and a media center. There are also two half-hour periods during each school day when everybody reads something of his choice.

The objective of curriculum integration at the junior high has been pursued in a manner that differs from the elementary schools. Rather than using I-Cs, the junior high has adopted a commercially prepared curriculum package, called Man: A Course of Study (MACOS), an integrated social studies curriculum developed under National Science Foundation sponsorship.

The project director had been interested in having the junior high adopt an off-the-shelf curriculum package to get something going fast. He was familiar with MACOS from his experience as a social studies curriculum teacher. Although he touted MACOS to the junior high TANDEM staff, he couldn't get them to adopt it during the first year. It wasn't until the second year, after a number of the staff had been fully exposed to the materials, and discussed them with instructors at the state university, that the team decided to adopt MACOS.

The curriculum materials, including films, booklets, and games, are designed to teach students how to think about big problems and to better understand the human condition.

ADAPTATIONS

Near the end of its third year, TANDEM shows very little deviation from the original proposal. The changes that have occurred represent the gradual evolution that was originally allowed for in the basic approach, rather than any clear departures.

The most significant change has probably been more structured curriculum planning. Those who participated in the early planning of the project admit that they were probably too idealistic in relying primarily on the spontaneous creativity of teachers to develop new curriculum ideas. This approach led to wasted or counterproductive efforts, and it appears to have created some gaps in the learning of basic skills. As a result, the teams now operate on a more structured basis. There is more systematic consideration of learning objectives in developing new curriculum materials.

The extension of TANDEM concepts to the junior high and the revised administrative structure reflect a logical progression of the TANDEM concept. The district had considered including the junior high in the first year of the project but dropped the idea because it would have overextended the district's management capabilities at that time. The change in administrative structure was made possible by the success of the team-teaching structure.

Also, the staff seems to have learned how to cut down demands on their time. It was uniformly said that teachers had spent considerable amounts of their own

time, both afternoons and weekends, working on curriculum development. Now although they continue to put in some extra time, the extreme demands have abated. This change is due not only to a buildup in reusable curriculum ideas or materials, but also to more realistic planning and efficiency in rounding up materials. The teachers also claim to have learned some scheduling tricks which greatly reduced the problems that were initially caused by the conflicts in individual student's programs.

IMPACT OF THE PROJECT

On Centerville's Educational Program

The difference between TANDEM and the traditional program is clearly observable in all of the schools, although some of the non-TANDEM classrooms are beginning to take on similar appearances.

The most obvious break with traditional programs is the movement of children between classes and among activities. Some of the movement may be controlled by the child's own choice: He can choose which activity center he will work in or which I-C (mini-course) he will elect. Some of the movement is controlled by the staff to achieve more homogeneous ability groupings for specific skills.

Another obvious feature is the use of I-Cs--activity centers and mini-courses that the children can select to meet their interests and that integrate the development of basic skills with social studies, science, or crafts. The I-Cs are not only structured differently from normal classrooms, but also present subject matter that is different from the normal curriculum. Many of the I-Cs deal with subject matter that is more of a contemporary issue or everyday problem than the traditional curriculum.

A third significant difference is the appearance of the rooms, which are informal and open. Furniture is apt to be grouped in small clusters. The children's creative work is more in evidence. Newspaper articles, reports, or articles relating to contemporary issues are more likely to be found.

On the Staff

The three most obvious effects that TANDEM has had on the participating staff relate to cooperation and teamwork, creative curriculum ideas, and attitude toward students.

The flexible mini-courses, shared activity centers, and other joint resources force TANDEM teachers to plan their work together. The school schedule provides several opportunities each day for all of the TANDEM teachers in a particular school to have planning meetings. The sharing of resources forces joint planning, which is carried over into the development of new curriculum areas or handling particular problems. TANDEM teachers always know what their colleagues are doing. Everybody knows when somebody is about to try something new.

An example might be the use of a particular game in the classroom to illustrate a scientific principle or a field trip to a local business. The whole team shares the anxiety or uncertainty about how the innovation will work, and various advice is offered and discussed. When the time for action arrives, everyone is anxious to hear how the exercise turns out. This sharing of findings and experience appears to be very beneficial. Teachers who are inclined to be less venturesome are encouraged directly by their colleagues or indirectly by peer group pressure to make their own attempts at innovation within the classroom.

The participating teachers seem to be uniform in their high praise of the team approach. None of them would want to return to self-contained classroom teaching. The benefit they most commonly cite is the support or assistance they get from their colleagues when they need it. By working with different groups of children, problems come and go, and a teacher who is having a temporary problem can get help from the rest of the team.

Creative teaching ideas are evident in all of the TANDEM classrooms and in the lists of I-Cs. The rooms abound with activity centers and projects. The teachers seem genuinely enthusiastic about developing new course ideas.

On the Students

When the implementation of TANDEM was announced to the community, the literature used contained an unusual caveat. The project director warned that the achievement scores of TANDEM students might suffer during the first few years because of unavoidable confusion involved in developing a new curriculum and because the TANDEM philosophy placed less emphasis on basic skill and measurable achievement gains than the traditional approach. This warning, in fact, does represent a fairly realistic view of what can be expected when a major innovation is introduced.

Happily for all, no such effect has been observed. TANDEM students, in fact, have performed consistently better than their cohorts on the standard achievement test used by the district, although this difference is seldom statistically significant.

The big change seems to be in student attitude and behavior. Teachers, evaluators, and parents alike all report dramatic differences in the behavior of TANDEM students, as compared with their own previous behavior and that of students in self-contained classrooms. The claims most consistently made are that TANDEM children are

- Better behaved and more responsible.
- Much more enthusiastic about school, especially their work in I-C s.
- Better able to use what they have learned in discussions or projects outside of school.
- Better able to communicate, especially with adults.
- Much more self-directed.

EVALUATION, CONTINUATION, AND DISSEMINATION

In addition to the usual self-reporting of project accomplishments, expenditures, and test score results, external evaluation is performed by two academic consultants. Their principal role is to spend several days observing classes and interviewing teachers. The project director appears to be extremely receptive to the evaluators' comments and eager to have the project praised. This receptiveness is not so strongly shared by some staff who are directly involved in the operation of the project--with considerable justification. They perceive the evaluators' comments as somewhat superficial or academic. After all, they have had more experience with the subject matter than the evaluator, and it is difficult for an outsider to get a full picture of what is going on in just a few days.

It is clear that TANDEM will continue in the district. Plans have already been made for the necessary funding adjustments in the district's budget. The major questions concerning continuation will involve the incorporation of additional classes and the continued evolution of the project.

A major portion of the TANDEM project budget has been devoted to supporting the project director, his staff, teacher training, the acquisition of materials, and

classroom aides. Many of these expenditures are no longer required for the project to continue. The project director has gradually shifted what responsibilities he had for developing the project over to the staff, so that his main role in the last year has been dealing with the state, the Office of Education, and other parties outside the district, although he still continues to act as a facilitator of additional change. This shift of burden, combined with the large number of teachers already trained in the project, means that the project can operate more cheaply in the future. Also, many of the materials purchased for the project, such as cameras and tape recorders, represent one-time expenses that will continue to be of value to the district. The classroom aides are the only major expense to be picked up by the district and this is affected by reduced administrative costs allowed by the use of executive teachers in lieu of principals.

The project director feels very strongly that TANDEM should eventually encompass all of the classrooms, and at least in Lakeview the demand for TANDEM by parents exceeds the supply of spaces. Our impression of what the future holds, given the modifications that are already evident in the self-contained classroom program, and the pressures exerted by parents and colleagues, is that TANDEM practices will gradually be introduced into most of the classrooms.

The district is already the focus of considerable attention for dissemination purposes. Its schools have been visited by observers from about 30 other districts and have been validated for dissemination by the federal IVD* program.

The project director is almost as missionary-like in his desire to see the project spread as he was to see it implemented in Centerville. The district has been invited to apply for a dissemination grant, from federal discretionary funds, which would provide funds for the project director to travel to other interested districts and support some members of the staff to work with visitors. Whether or not the grant will be provided was uncertain at the time we visited.

After observing the project in action for several days and exploring the way in which it developed, we are not sure exactly what aspects of the project are appropriate for dissemination. Clearly, the overall approach and concepts can be disseminated. The project makes a striking effect on visitors, and the project director has developed a variety of excellent descriptive materials, including an impressive slide show with accompanying sound track.

*Identification, Validation, Dissemination.

But beyond simply sharing the basic ideas with other districts it is not clear what else there is to disseminate. Our impression of the key to TANDEM's success (with which the project director concurs) is that it lies in the articulation and development of the project by the staff within the framework of the initial proposal. It would appear to be very difficult for the district to explain how that process could be accomplished elsewhere.

Staff members claim to have learned a number of lessons over the three-year life of the project that could have saved them considerable effort during its early stages--such as how to schedule various classes to avoid conflicts, or the appropriate content of I-Cs. But many of these findings seem to pertain to strictly local conditions, and, in fact, the process of working out the solutions may have had some critical benefits for the staff.

The prospect of a significant dissemination effort also might raise potential conflicts within the district. If the project is to have many visitors, those staff members involved in dissemination might prefer to freeze the development of the project where it stands so that visitors will see what the publicity material has described. Other members of the staff, especially those with less of a commitment to the specific project and who are interested in further change, are likely to see the visitors and the need for displaying the program as hindering their effort at further innovation.

APPLICATION TO OTHER DISTRICTS

In the opinion of most participants and observers, including ourselves, TANDEM has been an outstanding success for the Centerville school district. It has brought about significant beneficial changes that will survive the termination of Title III funds. The question remains, was this success peculiar to Centerville and the circumstances found there or can similar projects be equally successful in other districts? We think they can.

We believe that the key to TANDEM's success was the sensible evolution of the project design. A consensus for change was built up within the district. The superintendent laid down the ground rules for the project's development and expressed his commitment. An energetic and capable project director organized the details, utilizing the professional capabilities of the staff. The project has remained flexible, and individual initiative by the teachers has been encouraged and supported.

District Size

Centerville is a very small district with only three elementary schools, a characteristic that might be thought to affect the project's success. In fact, TANDEM is a school-focused project. The focus of change and method of bringing it about involves a team in a single school--sharing resources and concerned with the same group of students. It appears that the critical mass achieved by TANDEM, half of the teachers in each school, played an important part in preventing both staff rivalry or animosity toward the project teachers and a decline in their morale or effectiveness. In fact, when TANDEM was implemented with only four teachers in the junior high, the project encountered one of its few setbacks.

It is not so apparent that the district size matters, as long as there is support for the project. TANDEM only affects the schools that implement it and this implementation requires a concentrated effort. It is unlikely that other schools would just pick it up spontaneously. Therefore, TANDEM could be implemented in a few schools at a time in any district, regardless of size, as long as the capabilities of the project director to plan and provide assistance were not stretched too thin. This probably means no more than about 30 teachers or four or five teams being introduced to the project each year.

Resources

Classes in Centerville average about 25 students per teacher. Since many teachers have claimed that they are unable to maintain individualized or open programs with class sizes exceeding 28 to 30, we cannot discount the possibility that a TANDEM-type project would run into difficulties in those districts with class size of 32 to 35. On the other hand, the results might be no worse than those encountered with more traditional class sizes.

Other than the significant pre-service and in-service efforts it entails, there are no other important resource requirements. The TANDEM staffing pattern can be accommodated without an overall increase in staffing expenses.

Community Support

One could argue that the Centerville community was considerably more receptive to this type of change than many others, probably due to the influence of the college staff. But the general predisposition of the community would seem to be

a minor effect in comparison with their more specific reactions to the project as it develops. It would appear that the major factor in maintaining community support for the project was the absence of any organized opposition to the project. This probably reflects the skillful way in which it was introduced.

Administrative Constraints

The TANDEM history is remarkable in its lack of administrative roadblocks. Numerous changes in both administrative and teaching staff were made to improve the performance of the project. Teachers were required to put in large amounts of uncompensated overtime during the curriculum development stages of the project, and continue to do so, although at a much lower level. Assignments of rooms, lounges, and other resources were made in a pattern that obviously favored TANDEM. The curriculum content and time devoted to basic skills was drastically revised. Yet none of these changes or demands, which many districts would have found administratively difficult to make due to existing regulations or pressure from the affected groups, seemed to raise any serious concerns among the district staff. Either the influence of the usual education pressure groups is greatly reduced in Centerville, or the superintendent and project director were extremely skillful in pacifying them. The project would never have succeeded without the ability to shift people who are not working out as project teachers or administrators, or without the extra effort of teachers who devoted some of their own time to professional development.

Key Staff

One of the most consistent findings from studies of educational innovation is the key role played by leadership. In fact, project leadership is often the only distinguishing feature between projects that fail or succeed. TANDEM seems to have been blessed with particularly effective leaders. The school superintendent came to the district from a university program, and before that, a position in inner-city schools. He was particularly well suited by background, training, and interest to initiate such a project in his district, and he was brought in with a mandate for change.

The project director also came from an academic background (four advanced degrees and a teaching position at Centerville College). His tremendous dedication and enthusiasm for the project and the hard work he exerted on its behalf obviously

paid off. As the teaching staff gradually developed its own capabilities, he wisely withdrew to a less substantive role, dealing primarily with external agencies--a role much appreciated by the rest of the staff.

Most of the executive teachers also seem quite capable, especially in explaining the project. Also, the new middle-school principal is extremely competent at evaluating the existing program and energizing the staff to work out improvements.

In summary, we believe that TANDEM's success is due, in a large part, to capabilities of the district staff and the community attitude. We also believe that the development of these factors to the appropriate level is well within the means of most school districts.

SANDWOOD

Milbrey Wallin McLaughlin

DISTRICT OVERVIEW

Sandwood is one of the largest cities in the Southwest, sprawling over a wide area. The city encompasses an enormous range in socioeconomic status--from very wealthy residential areas on the northern side of the city to barrios in the southeastern section of town. Although Sandwood has many poor families, the city seems to have few instances of the extreme poverty typical of large urban areas. Sandwood has a large Mexican population, and in the past decade the number of blacks moving to the city has increased dramatically. Mexican-Americans and blacks present particular educational problems for the school district, which contains 125 elementary schools, 16 junior high schools, 12 senior high schools, 1 career high school, and 2 continuation schools, for a student population of 125,000. A further problem that is somewhat unique to the Sandwood district is its extremely high mobility rate--in middle-class as well as lower-class neighborhoods.

From the perspective of an outsider, the Sandwood school district is immediately seen as unusual in the high morale, sense of vitality, and innovativeness of the schools at all levels--from the classroom to the central office. The activity in the central downtown offices appears to be a judicious blend of "hustle" or grantsmanship and a genuine interest in trying out new ways to solve educational problems in the district.

There are several reasons for this high morale, which is certainly atypical of large urban districts. A major administrative reorganization took place in the district about ten years ago. In 1966, the superintendent launched what has been called a "youth movement" in which young educational experts were sought out at major eastern universities and brought to Sandwood to revitalize the district's educational practices. The superintendent's interest in bringing change to the district was supported by the board of education. The businessmen on the board felt that "if you want to get a job done, you should hire the best possible people to do it." Two of the men brought to Sandwood as part of the youth movement are now playing key roles in shaping school district policies and encouraging innovations. One is now superintendent, and another is director of the office of special projects, the unit charged with developing or supporting new ideas and seeking funds for them.

The youth movement coincided with great increases in federal aid to education starting in 1965 under ESEA, Titles I and III. Sandwood was able to use this money more constructively and creatively than other large urban areas because the district did not experience the racial and economic crises that the others did in the mid-sixties. Consequently, instead of using federal monies to keep the buildings nailed together and the school yards free from violence, the district could direct funds to expand or to innovate.

Furthermore, perhaps because of the effectiveness of the youth movement, success has bred success; Sandwood has been awarded more than its expected share of federal and state change agent funds. The director of the special projects office says that the district is industrious in finding out where the money is and what the funding agencies want. The district subscribes to the Federal Register, which is read by the special projects staff regularly. In addition, there are people in the district who are responsible for finding out what is happening in Congressional committees and anticipating what the funding sources will be looking for. Furthermore, people such as the special projects director sometimes participate in drafting the legislation. Consequently, they know legislative intent well in advance, as well as what new federal priorities are emerging. Proposals that emerge from the special projects office in Sandwood seem to be a combination of proposals aimed at identifying district needs or particular district interests and proposals that are written expressly with funding priorities in mind.

The district's interest in innovation is not limited by the availability of federal grants. The district itself supports new and innovative practices. For example, the TDC (Teachers' Development Committee) and the Future Elementary Schools Committee are established to fund teacher- or principal-initiated ideas at modest levels. The district has also put its own money into a new alternative school, which will start in 1974-75. District funds were also used to pay for the administrative costs involved in experimentally restaffing a school for disadvantaged children. The district explicitly commits itself to foster and support change.

MULTIAGE GROUPING IN EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION

This Title III project is based on a pilot project begun in 1970 and supported in part by district TDC funds. In May 1970 an elementary school consultant, an Eliot School kindergarten teacher, and the principal of Eliot School began to experiment with new approaches to early childhood education in the regular school program, covering prekindergarten through 1st grade. Although the district could not supply

additional funding, its officials allowed Eliot to open a pilot class in September 1970, to provide experience in multiage classroom organization at the prekindergarten-kindergarten-1st grade level. The class began as scheduled, with 8 prekindergarten, 10 kindergarten, and 12 1st grade children in attendance. TDC funds paid for an evaluator.

The major objective was to bring the four-year-old child into the regular school system by establishing a multilevel prekindergarten, kindergarten, and grade 1 classroom, focusing on individualized instruction/learning and continuous progress. The sponsors also wanted to bring about institutional change and provide a higher degree of individualized instruction through multiage grouping; to explore methods appropriate to individualization of instruction; to evaluate effective programs of early childhood education; and to develop adequate in-service meetings to train personnel.

The multiage format was chosen

> to help children and adults break out of the constraints of grade-level thinking--to recognize each child as the unique individual he is. In a class composed of children of two grades, the teacher may effectively teach the curricula of both grades. When the 3rd grade level is added, the teacher gives up trying to teach the curricula for three grades. Then good things begin to happen for children--individualization begins.

Initiation of this pilot project required the cooperation and support of the city's Educational Council and the district administrators. By state law, four-year-olds cannot be included in public school classrooms. Thus, in order for the pilot project to take place, the district had to agree to establish one classroom in which there would be only 22 kindergarten and 1st grade students. The remaining 8 students could then be four-year-olds. The displaced 8 kindergarten and 1st grade students were distributed among other classrooms in the school. In the opinion of the elementary school consultant and the Eliot kindergarten teacher, the Educational Council agreed to this irregularity because of the successful precedent of Head Start in Sandwood.

At the end of a year, the pilot project was considered to have met its objectives successfully and to have demonstrated that multiage groupings and the inclusion of four-year-olds in a regular school program could work out well.

The founders of the pilot program believed that the apparent success of the project raised two questions: (1) Could other teachers operate similar classes?

(2) Would this type of class work in any neighborhood other than an affluent middle-class community? The project staff felt that these questions could be answered by expanding the original project throughout the district. Community support for the Eliot pilot project, together with the enthusiasm of teachers, children, and administrators, led to the recommendation that the district apply for a Title III grant to expand and continue the project.

A committee was set up in the late fall of 1970 to prepare an initial application for Title III funds. The committee included parents, district personnel, principals, and teachers, as well as a consultant from the Title III PACE* center. The person primarily responsible for writing the proposal was a parent of a student at Eliot school. She had training as a journalist, extensive background in preschool education and Head Start, and had taught on the kindergarten to 4th grade level as well as multigrade. In addition she had worked in Title I and Head Start parent participation classes.

The proposal had to go through the special project office, whose director provided a great deal of help to the committee preparing the application. Participants in the proposal stage believed that the major selling point of the project would be the inclusion of the prekindergarteners and the four-year-olds — they did not feel that the concept of multiage grouping by itself was innovative. The other aspect of the project proposal that the committee felt to be innovative was the substantial amount of parent involvement in the classroom and in project governance.

IMPLEMENTATION

Site Selection

The Eliot School principal, who was to become project director, had intended to initiate the project in two classrooms in eight or nine schools throughout the district. He felt it was important to have more than one project teacher in a school in order to provide moral support in the introduction of a new educational strategy. He also felt that only those schools and teachers who wanted to participate should become involved. But as planning for the project progressed, additional political criteria and constraints were imposed:

1. There had to be a distribution of project sites over the city so that each school board member's region was represented.

*Programs To Advance Creativity in Education.

2. There had to be a vacant classroom in the school.
3. There had to be some Title I schools among those chosen.

Given these criteria and constraints, the elementary school regional director prepared a list of schools and teachers who might be interested in participating. As she recollects, approximately one-third of the school principals supported the idea, one-third were indifferent, and one-third seriously questioned the project.

Despite the varying amount of support for the project, the regional director and the future project director worked very hard in smoothing out the difficulties that could have prevented implementation of the project. The regional director played a major role in the selection of teachers for the project. She said her main requirements in selecting teachers was that they be flexible, interested in trying new ideas, and willing to deal with parents and teaching aides.

During the first year, the selection procedure employed during the pilot project for four-year-olds was continued; that is, the oldest four-year-olds were chosen from the list of applicants. This decision was made essentially for political reasons. After the pilot project, many parents wanted their children enrolled in the program. Selection guidelines based on age seemed likely to eliminate favoritism or hasslers for principals. In the second year of the project, prekindergarten participants were selected randomly in response to the recommendation of the project evaluator. He argued that including only the oldest four-year-olds introduced bias into the evaluation of a project that was expected to benefit all four-year-olds, not just those approaching their fifth birthday.

Staff Training

According to the project director, the basic ingredient for successful implementation of the project was extensive staff training. There were three general components:

1. A summer school program for children that was attended by project teachers. This program was able to serve as a model for the teachers to implement in the fall and also gave them a chance to actually practice the techniques.
2. A workshop for teachers held in conjunction with the summer school. At this time, consultants and others were brought in to talk about implementing multiage classrooms as well as open-structure education.

3. The availability of a resource person, the pilot project teacher, who helped teachers.

The summer school class consisted of 10 prekindergarten, 10 kindergarten, and 10 1st grade children who would be part of the project in the fall. The resource teacher taught the six-week summer school and the elementary school consultant conducted a workshop for 19 prospective teachers during the middle four weeks. In the morning, the teachers were in the classroom involved with the children in every aspect of the program. In the afternoon, they looked at publishers' wares and discussed educational philosophies and teaching strategies. Without exception, project teachers report that this preparation was critical to their success.

In-service training continued throughout the year. It included sessions with specialists in reading, math, music, art, science, and physical education. It also offered sessions on educational philosophies, on strategies for individualization, and on educational materials. The resource teacher individually assisted teachers involved in the project.

The resource teacher reports that she was careful to employ the same strategy with teachers that she hoped the teachers would employ with the students. She said the first thing she had to be sure to do was to acknowledge the teacher as an individual and treat her as a person, not just as a worker. She was very careful never to criticize what teachers were doing but to help them identify their own priorities and problems and help them solve them.

A different procedure was used for the in-service training of aides. First, the teachers interviewed and hired their own aides. This strategy, in the opinion of the project evaluator, provided a positive incentive for teachers. Second, the teacher gave her own aide in-service training before the school started. This allowed the individual teacher and aide to begin to learn about each other. Before the school opened, they both set up the room so that it would be neither exclusively the teacher's nor the aide's. About two to four weeks into the school year, meetings for aides were held to discuss the general philosophies and strategies underlying multiage grouping and early childhood education. The original project plans called for training the aides before school began, but delays in funding precluded that. In retrospect, project participants believe that delaying this general training was probably more effective, since by the time training started, the aides had specific classroom experience to which they could relate the philosophy.

Second-Year Training

From Aug. 14 to 28, 1972, the resource staff and the evaluator held a workshop for eight teachers and one teacher aide scheduled for the Eliot School. The Eliot advisory committee was invited to attend some of the workshop sessions. Content included philosophy and practical suggestions needed to implement the program. Guest speakers, films, video tapes, and published materials on individualizing were also used. Before the workshop, visits to existing prekindergarten-kindergarten-1st grade classes were made, and conferences with these teachers and resource personnel were scheduled for teachers new to the program. During the school year, 27 teachers, 17 principals, and 3 resource personnel were involved in staff development activities. Two in-service meetings for principals covered visits to multiage classrooms, explanation and discussion of the state's early childhood education program, and an overview of the project evaluation. Three in-service sessions for aides included the role of instructional aides, activities for early childhood education (ECE) classes, methods for guiding children's behavior, and aspects of the role of the instructional aide as a member of the teaching team. Eight in-service meetings were held for 20 multiage teachers. Topics included methods for individualizing instruction in music, art, and reading, and a discussion of evaluation procedures. The Eliot staff met for a total of 26 sessions, in addition to those devoted to dissemination and/or evaluation.

Incentives for Staff Participation

There were a number of explicit incentives for teacher participation in the project. Teachers were given money to purchase their own materials. Also, the three-grade structure meant that the teacher only had 10 1st graders in her class in the afternoon, thereby lessening classroom stress and increasing the opportunity to individualize instruction. In addition, the provision of classroom aides and the involvement of parents made the teacher's job easier and enabled her to concentrate her energies where she felt they were most needed. Finally, participation in the project has provided project teachers with professional visibility, as visitors to Sandwood increase and as project teachers travel throughout the state to disseminate the program. In the view of the project evaluator, these incentives were important in getting teachers through the "horrendous" first year in which they were getting used to new classroom organization and materials.

Project Activities

During the first year of implementation, there were 19 prekindergarten-kindergarten-1st grade classes in 16 Sandwood city schools. The second year, one nonpublic school was added. Also, seven more classes at Eliot School were added to test the multiage grouping concept in an entire primary school, which included children from prekindergarten through 3rd grade (ages three years and nine months to nine).*

Part of the Title III funding was used to pay for that one-third of each teacher's salary that was not paid for through the regular kindergarten-12th grade state apportionment. Over a three-year period, each teacher was allotted $950 to buy learning materials and equipment for her classroom. This allotment is reported not only to function as a positive incentive for project teachers, but also to enhance a teacher's sense of "professionalism" and ability to "personalize" her classroom.

There are a number of project strategies that are the same across all sites:

- Choosing time
- Staggered arrival and dismissal times
- Use of parent volunteers in the classrooms

"Choosing time" comes at the beginning of the school day and permits the child to select his own activity. Project staff and administrators see "choosing time" as being important to the success of this project because it gives the child a chance to establish his own equilibrium and to choose what he feels he can be most comfortable and successful with. It also provides the teacher with time to deal with children individually since they come in on a staggered basis. The resource teacher feels that having the choosing time period at the first of the day is critical. She said if it is put any later in the day "something has happened to a child" and free time is like "letting steam out of a pressure cooker."

Staggered arrival and dismissal times is a second strategy adopted in an effort to "de-institutionalize" school for young children. Children are allowed to come into the classroom as soon as they arrive at school rather than waiting at the playground for a bell to ring. Teachers found that many children began to come to

*Since the passage of the early childhood education law, the Eliot program has become one of the models for implementation of individualized, early education strategies. The school receives additional early childhood education funds from the state for this purpose.

school as early as 8:00 or 8:30. In addition, children were allowed to stay after school and leave at the completion of a project of interest rather than at the ringing of a bell. Children started to arrive earlier, and also often stayed later.

The project has also stressed extensive use of parent volunteers in addition to classroom aides hired with project funds. Not unexpectedly, the amount of parent participation varies according to neighborhood socioeconomic status, but even in low-income areas parents are involved as resource persons in the project classrooms. The involvement of parents appears to have been an important element in gaining community acceptance for the project generally and has reduced parent qualms about the elimination of traditional grading and report cards. Involvement in the classroom plus frequent parent/teacher conferences have satisfied parents' desire for information on their child's progress. However, in addition to these strategies, site-to-site differences were anticipated and encouraged by the project director. He believed that within the framework of an individualized, child-centered approach to education, each teacher should be allowed to develop her own materials and style of working with the children. Consequently, within the 19 project sites, project implementation ranges from the quite structured Montessori approach to the Eliot School classrooms, which most closely resemble the British Infant Schools.

PROJECT IMPACT

Evaluation Findings: Project Outcome

The evaluation findings for the second year indicate that as a whole the project is meeting its stated objectives. The hypotheses of the experiment for the second year were similar to those of the first year. The objectives and findings are as follows:

Objective	Finding
1. 85 percent of beginning four-year-olds will exhibit readiness for math and reading instruction by May 1973.	86 percent of the four-year-olds showed measured readiness for instruction in math and reading. (31 percent showed readiness in October 1972.)

Objective	Finding
2. Five-, six-, seven-, and eight-year-olds in project classes will demonstrate more positive attitudes toward school.	All project classes scored higher than control classes on posttests in attitude toward school and social growth.
3. Five-, six-, seven-, and eight-year-olds will show significantly greater growth in math and reading than control groups.	Five-year-olds exceeded control groups by four months in reading (0.01 level). Six-year-olds exceeded control groups by four months in reading and nine months in math (0.01 level). Seven-year-olds exceeded control groups by one month in reading (not significant) and by eight months in math (0.05 level). Eight-year-olds showed no difference in reading and math.
4. Teachers in the project will exceed control group teachers in increasing the degree of individualization of their respective programs.	Project teachers exceeded control in degree of individualization (0.01 level).

Wherever possible, controls were drawn from the same grades in the same schools in order to reduce school and neighborhood contextual effects as well as socioeconomic status differences. By the second year, however, a number of the control groups were "contaminated" by seepage of project strategies.

Impact on Sandwood Schools

Since the inclusion of prekindergarten children in the public schools requires a substantial amount of additional money, it is unlikely that other schools would adopt that aspect of the project without special outside funding. The project strategies most suitable for adoption or adaptation by other schools or districts are the concepts of multiage grouping, open "spirit," and individualized instruction.

Although the extent of spread and implementation of these notions within the Sandwood school district has been disappointing to project personnel, there is evidence that these project strategies have been picked up by other teachers in project sites. One school, in fact, has moved entirely into multiage grouping and open classroom as a result of project participation. Nonetheless, most of the attention focused on the multiage project has come from outside the district. The project evaluator noted the irony of the fact that as competition began for developing early childhood education proposals, few Sandwood schoolmen looked to Eliot for ideas--even though the school had been designated as an early childhood education model for the state. In general, this Title III project has had a moderate impact on participating schools, a substantial impact on project teachers, but very little impact on the district as a whole.

Impact Outside the District

While project classrooms and the Eliot demonstration school have been more or less ignored by Sandwood educators, a large number of schoolmen from elsewhere in the state (and the country) have visited the project. In 1972-1973, visitors to Eliot from outside the project area totaled 1200 and included representatives from 4 foreign countries, 6 states, and 60 other cities in the state. Visits to the school were also made by the state superintendent, the state house education committee, and three representatives from the governor's office. Visits by state educators have been spurred by the recent early childhood education grant competition, which seeks proposals for programs embodying many of the strategies of this Title III project, specifically the Eliot model program.

In addition to hosting visitors, the project director's staff and parents have undertaken a very successful series of traveling seminars, workshops, and in-classroom help. Multiage concepts are also disseminated through Eliot's internship program. Teachers from other districts spend a week (or less) working with an Eliot teacher in her classroom. (Project teachers are paid an honorarium of $10 a day for providing internship experience.)

CONTINUATION

Inclusion of four-year-olds in the regular school program will not be continued after the termination of Title III money unless additional outside funds are located. Schools receiving early childhood education funds (which amount to $130 a child in kindergarten through 3rd grade) plan to continue the multiage project more or less

in its present form. However, schools that do not anticipate receiving these funds have expressed doubt that they will be able to continue the project strategies. The multiage, open classroom approach to primary education relies heavily on the addition of aides and parent volunteers. The district will be unable to provide funds to employ aides. The lower middle-class schools will have the most difficulty in continuing the project since low-income schools can use Title I money to hire aides and the wealthier areas can recruit additional parent (or senior citizen) volunteers. Multiage project teachers who face the loss of aides next year generally feel that although they could never return to traditional "one teacher thirty children" classroom strategies, they will have to modify their classroom activities reducing individualization and adding more structured, large-group activities.

CONCLUSIONS

There are many reasons underlying the success of the district's Title III project. For one, implementation was fairly trouble free because of the experience of the pilot year and careful planning on the part of project administrators. The adaptation that took place--site-to-site variation--was anticipated and encouraged. Second, project personnel were extremely supportive and helpful to teachers charged with implementing the multiage concepts. Because of her experience with the pilot year as well as her own very considerable skill as a teacher, the resource teacher was a key person in the success of this project. She spent hours in the classroom and on the telephone, particularly in the first six months, sympathizing with project teachers and helping them to identify and solve problems. The high morale and "specialness" that has grown up around the project is reflected in the project evaluator's observation that project classroom outcomes have been relatively unaffected by principal attitudes or educational practices in the school. That is, project classrooms located in schools where principals were not supportive or were indifferent about the multiage program did just as well as projects located in schools headed by principals who were enthusiastic about the concept. Strong and supportive project leadership, in this instance, appeared to overcome a traditional barrier to successful innovation--principal attitude. The attitudes of principals, however, largely determined the extent to which project strategies spread throughout the school. Some schools have begun to move almost entirely toward open education and multiage grouping. In other schools, especially those headed by principals who place high priority on discipline and order, teachers have been discouraged or forbidden to implement the strategies demonstrated by the Title III project.

A third factor contributing to the success of this project is the broad base of participation sought in the preparation of the proposal and in setting goals and objectives. Teachers and parents particularly were given explicit and central roles in this process.

Fourth, the caliber of teachers recruited for the project played an important part--especially in the most difficult first semester. As the project evaluator noted, "seventy-five percent of the teachers are excellent by any light and were already committed to change and innovation." The careful selection of project teachers by project administrators also meant that selection for participation was seen as a professional tribute to these teachers.

Fifth, the extensive staff development and training activities were critical. Staff were able to see a project classroom in action and discuss educational philosophies and strategies before they implemented the project; they also received continuing help and training as the project got under way. The talent of the project resource teacher combined with the frequent and carefully planned training activities served to eliminate difficulties before they became problems and thereby promoted relatively smooth project implementation and successful project outcome.

There was little political legerdemain or bureaucratic jousting in the experience of this Title III project--probably because of the district's unusual innovative spirit. A talented and dedicated staff was able to implement the multiage project with a minimum of trauma, tragedy, or resistance. The grant of Title III funds did not precipitate a new district activity but instead allowed demonstration on a broad scale of an experimental program initiated and developed by the district staff.

One of the more important lessons to be learned from the experience of this Title III project concerns effective dissemination strategies. If project statistics and reports are to be believed, the "peer" dissemination strategy followed by the project--hosting teacher interns and visitors as well as sending teams of teachers, parents, and project personnel around the state--has resulted in an extraordinarily high level of adoption or adaptation of project strategies in other districts. The experience of this project suggests that people--not packages--combined with a degree of sympathetic handholding by those who have already "gone through it," are a more effective means of spreading innovative ideas than any purely technological approach.

SEASIDE

Miriam Baer and Milbrey Wallin McLaughlin

THE SCHOOL

Roosevelt School is a two-story building that was built in 1926. It is of the egg crate design with a center hall and rooms on each side. The rooms are rather large and airy, with high ceilings and large windows. The school is located in an area of middle to upper middle-class homes. Roosevelt is an elementary school, kindergarten through 6th grade, within the Seaside public school system. It is run by a principal who is also Title III project director; he reports to the area coordinator,* and, through him, to the superintendent of schools, and an 11-man school board.

The Roosevelt community has for years been very stable and predominantly Jewish, but is now undergoing change. Many more black families are moving in, while white families are moving out, causing an annual transiency rate of 50.3 percent. Since the minority population has risen from 17.6 percent in the fall of 1970 to 39 percent in September of 1974, the school is facing a significant change in terms of the type of children attending. Many of the teachers have lived in the community for years and feel that the school is a real part of that community. Roosevelt houses 603 children and 20 full-time teachers.

The school has a history of having had very strong principals. The present principal came to Roosevelt in 1967. The previous principal, who is now assistant superintendent for Area X, was well loved in the community and was responsible for hiring many of the people who are still there.

DISTRICT PHILOSOPHY REGARDING CHANGE

It is the stated philosophy of the district that ideas for change should come from the principal and/or his community. Ideas, or even direction for change, should never be imposed from above. The following quotes from Seaside school administrators make this clear:

- The district's director of special projects: "It is the policy of the district to let individual principals know where funds may be

*Seaside has decentralized and is divided into areas. Area X serves 26,000 elementary school children.

available, but to let individual principals initiate and write their own proposals."

- The present principal of Roosevelt: "There was no help from downtown nor any push to make changes at my school. In fact, they made it difficult by giving me wrong information at times."
- The superintendent of Area X: "The principal is definitely the key to any change. A parent group can never make an education program change. It has to be supported strongly by the principal."
- The superintendent of schools: "We're letting schools make decisions as to what is the appropriate curriculum for their students. These decisions are not made at this office. We have many schools and it would be impossible for the board or me to get into this kind of decisionmaking."

PROJECT SEEDS

In May 1970, at the suggestion of the principal, the teaching staff did an evaluation for the advisory council. This became a needs assessment, and the staff suggested that the school become involved in individualized instruction through open structure. The parents supported this concept and wanted it implemented. The principal had done much reading about open structure and was philosophically committed to it.

Staff members had assumed from the beginning that the implementation of the open-education concept in their classrooms would be voluntary. During the summer of 1970 six teachers, along with the principal, talked and planned about how open structure could be started at Roosevelt. Their plans were presented to the total staff the next fall. The majority (15 out of 21) of the teachers said that they would be interested in learning about and implementing open structure provided it was voluntary. They formed a committee to look into the possibility of making the change, and were encouraged when the Change in Education Council in the district said they could write a proposal based on the open-structure concept. At this time, all the teachers were attending an extension class at a local university on open structure.*

*The teachers, however, didn't think that this was a very good course, or that it would be very helpful for setting up an open class.

1970-71: TITLE III PROPOSAL

In the middle of the year 11 teachers, along with the principal, wrote a grant proposal and sent it to USOE asking for Title III funds. These teachers were bound by a philosophical agreement that children should be the center of the curriculum and that learning should be individualized. By this time the teachers had begun to open up their classrooms by the use of SRA (Science Research Associates, Inc.) reading kits and other individualized materials, and were providing for more student choice.

The principal was faced with many problems at this juncture. The writing of the proposal was very time-consuming since he got no help from downtown. He had become unpopular with other principals; they felt that if the project were successful, they would be forced to make the change as well. The Area X superintendent was of little help and inclined to be negative about the project. He did, however, provide extra clerical help to type the proposal and to follow through on all legitimate project needs.

The proposal was written, submitted, and turned down that first semester on the grounds that custodial services were not described correctly. In March 1971 the teachers sent the same proposal back and it was accepted, although not immediately funded. The principal went to England that summer to visit British primary schools and learn more about open education.* When he returned, he learned that the project had been funded.

1971-72: THE FIRST YEAR

Title III funds totaling approximately $90,000 paid for an evaluator from a major local university, aides, a program coordinator, and a resource teacher. There were several problems that were immediately apparent. The coordinator was a teacher at Roosevelt, but when severe personality conflicts arose she didn't wish to continue after the first year. There were problems with the aides, too. They came from the community and often didn't take their job seriously and had no training.

In addition to personnel, funds were provided for setting up centers in the classrooms, some new equipment, and general materials. Workshops were held once a month for the teachers, and funds were provided for parent education. There was one weekend retreat.

*In the proposal the principal says that open structure is modeled after the British primary system. He asked the district to help finance this trip, but was turned down.

In spite of the parents' keen interest in this project from the beginning, reaction was mixed during the first year. Many parents, through the aide program, were actively involved in the school and understood the changes being made. Others didn't want their children to be guinea pigs. They were concerned whether the basic skills would, in fact, be thoroughly taught. The advisory council president and the PTA president were both strongly in favor, and their open endorsement (e. g., letters to parents explaining the program), along with the children's increased interest in school, helped to sway the skeptics.

In this first proposal, the major skill areas of reading and math were listed in the purpose statement:

> The major purpose of the project is to develop individualized instruction in reading and mathematics through an organizational strategy known as "open structure." This mode of teaching emphasizes learner self-direction and autonomy in mastery of subject matter. It develops in students positive and desirable attitudes toward the learning process.

THE FIRST YEAR: EVALUATION

Evaluation involved attitudes as well as achievement testing. The students did not attain the target levels of growth in reading and math skills, that is, two months' additional progress over the ten-month gains.* This failure was attributed to excessive expectations. In the attitudinal realm, however, the students met stated goals on a student attitudinal inventory and on a measurement of student attitudes by teachers. They did attain more than expected growth on a parent inventory of student attitudes.

The Title III coordinator says that at the end of the first year the project was 50 percent successful. She feels that they were too idealistic in expectations and went too quickly. The absence of a trained aide in each classroom and the reticence on the part of some teachers to give children choices and leeway led to problems. Also, the skepticism of some parents caused a certain amount of concern in the community. Since the community was undergoing ethnic change, it was possible that some of the concern about that issue was flowing over into concern about the changed type of learning environment.

*This is true of most open-structure schools.

1972-73: SECOND YEAR

The first continuation grant was funded for about $100,000. The grant was based on the same needs assessment and contained the same objectives as the first year albeit with the hope that greater depth would be achieved. Two important changes were made, however: one involved the aides and the other a person newly appointed to the job of Title III coordinator. The aides were hired from universities rather than from the community. These students were able to combine their student teaching obligation with a paid aide position at Roosevelt. The students stayed most of the day, and in most cases, their roles as aide and student teacher were intertwined. This mixture of roles led to some problems (discussed below) but for the most part it has been successful. The other change that took place in the second year was the replacement of the previous coordinator with a new one. She had been a kindergarten teacher and had good rapport with the other teachers.

The second-year evaluations were much like the first: achievement tests and attitudinal tests. Although the objectives for reading and math score gains had been lowered, children in grades 2, 3, and 5 still did not attain the expected gains. However, two-year participants in the program had higher achievement scores than did less-than-one-year participants. On a parent inventory of student attitudes, the scores were lower than the previous years.

1973-74: THIRD YEAR

The third year was funded for about $130,000, using the same general objectives. The major addition was a dissemination model. The criteria and type of evaluation were the same as for the previous year. The major change involved early childhood education funds which Roosevelt received this year. Four additional staff people joined the school: The ECE coordinator, an outdoor environmental program teacher, a music teacher, and a remedial reading specialist. All of the children benefited from these additional staff although they were not Title III funded. As of the beginning of this school year, 13 classrooms were vertically grouped, and there were two team teaching classrooms.

EVALUATION: PROJECT TO DATE

The principal says that he doesn't feel the program is an experimental one, even though the Area X people do. He feels that the greatest changes they've seen in the children have been gains in reading and math for those who have been in the project three years and a near-zero truancy rate. Also, children are much more

enthusiastic about school, and there is a reduction in discipline problems referred to him. He has no specific recommendations for future changes in the program. When the money is gone, he thinks the program will continue, but not as well. He made little mention of changes in the affective domain, on which he had placed so much emphasis in the proposals.

The Title III coordinator says that in general the project has been very successful. They have spent money on people rather than on materials. She feels, however, that it would have been easier if they had dealt with the same person from the state capitol throughout the project rather than with different people each year. She feels that another problem has been that the Area X coordinator has been negative since the beginning. He came to only one parent meeting and then restricted his talk to reading.* His assistant, the former principal at Roosevelt, has been very supportive.

In terms of evaluation, the Title III coordinator feels the testing has been poor because they have used norm referenced tests. She would like to see criterion reference tests used because she thinks the results would be more valuable. She feels that the evaluations from the local university have not been helpful because they don't show what is happening. The key to success of an open-structured program is competent teachers, she says, and they have a good staff at Roosevelt. There are three specific changes she would like to make: (1) She would get rid of norm tests; (2) she wouldn't require teachers who didn't want to be training teachers to do so; and (3) she would change certain staff people and would encourage more team teaching. At present there is one class at the kindergarten level, one at the 3rd and 4th grade level, and two other classes that team teach on occasion.

The Title III resource teacher has several ideas for improving the program. She would like to see the teachers visit other classrooms more frequently to observe different methods. She would also like to see the transiency rate among the children lowered, because she feels it adversely affects the program and is harmful to children. There is a need, she says, for more preparation time for teachers, because open structure requires increased planning time. To coordinate the classroom, teachers need more time to talk with the teacher aides and student teachers, especially in the upper grades.

As for the parent evaluation, a questionnaire was sent to each family in January 1974. The responses to such questions as whether the parents were

*In our conversation with the Area X coordinator, we were not aware of any negative feelings on his part. Area X has a budget of about $80,000, most of which the coordinator allocates to schools receiving no special funding.

satisfied with their child's progress and whether the vertical grouping was helpful were, in general, favorable. Of 400 families, however, only 150 returned forms, which leads to the speculation that the forms returned may not have come from a representative sample of families. For example, parents who are more active in advisory council and PTA activities would be more likely to return such a questionnaire, producing a positively skewed response. An advisory council meeting and a talk with the president of the advisory council revealed that there were those in the community who were critical of the open-structure program and of the principal's leadership.

IS ROOSEVELT AN OPEN-STRUCTURED SCHOOL?

Three student teacher coordinators, two from major local universities and one from a neighboring college, were asked this question. Some typical answers are given below:

Coordinator 1:

Roosevelt is certainly not as open or individualistic as it might be. They could be doing a lot more than they are doing, and they could have more ideas for the future in terms of improving their program, which they do not have.

Coordinator 2:

There's a need at Roosevelt for more in-service training in how to organize a classroom and make the individualized open-classroom concept really work.

Coordinator 3:

I don't consider Roosevelt really open, although the principal does. Initially, many of my students were shocked at what was going on at Roosevelt. They said it was very closed; that they weren't going to be able to do anything while they were there, and they rebelled. This was back in September. I had lots of conferences with the students who didn't want to student teach there at all at this point.

All three of the student teacher coordinators feel that the principal can intellectualize openness, but hasn't carried out the concept throughout the school. We certainly found this out ourselves. We were not free to visit classrooms unless we had a prior appointment, a situation that made classroom observations extremely difficult. There is a closed feeling at Roosevelt--a feeling of

tightness and of unwelcome. In several traditional schools that we had previously visited, we were permitted to visit classrooms at will, but in spite of our requests to do this, at Roosevelt we were not allowed to do so. The coordinators feel that the basic problem is not with the curriculum, but with a rigid attitude toward the students. This can take the form of citations that are given to students when they violate school rules. These citations are taken home and signed by the parents. The principal often watches the kids in the hall and gives them citations for mischief. Citations are given for skipping down the hall and talking too loudly in the cafeteria, hardly gross infractions. The coordinators and some parents said that there was inequality between the treatment of blacks and whites at the school. All three of the student teacher coordinators, then, feel that Roosevelt isn't as good as it could be, that there is a tightness there that shouldn't be there, and that they are very much hampered in their ability to make any kinds of suggestions for change. However, on a rating scale of open-structure characteristics done by a doctoral candidate in the spring of 1973 in ten classrooms, the program was judged to be a successful effort to individualize learning.

CLASSROOM OBSERVATIONS

All in all, ten classrooms were visited. This certainly was not enough, but we were terribly hampered by the strict scheduling into particular classrooms for 45-minute periods each. When we visited classes without an appointment, we were made to feel unwelcome. In general, we felt that the classrooms were sterile. Open structure at Roosevelt means having centers, but not necessarily having children involved with lots of manipulative materials. Too often the teacher acts as an imparter of knowledge rather than as a guide and facilitator.

The main problem at Roosevelt is that the teachers still think of themselves as teachers, in the traditional sense, even though the rooms are set up with centers. There is, of course, as at other schools, a wide variety of teaching. One teacher's classroom may be extremely structured, repressive, and traditional, while many others are quite adequate. However, most of the people we talked to said that all but one of the classrooms at Roosevelt are open. This leads us to believe that their interpretation of openness and ours is different.

As one student teacher coordinator mentioned to us, there is a lack of spontaneity and laughter in most of the classrooms. She said that the kids are allowed to talk to each other, but they are not gay or lively. There is also a lack of student-made material on many of the walls. Most display material is

teacher-made or purchased. A learning center should present a concept offering a variety of manipulative materials. This was not the case in most classrooms.

Children worked independently on SRA kits or in individual workbooks, but they were at centers only if the aide or the teacher was there. It appeared that the centers weren't very stimulating for the children or that they weren't changed very often. In speaking with the teachers, there was a feeling of great support for the principal, but we missed a sense of excitement about the project, and of things yet undone that they hoped to do, that we had gotten in other school districts. Perhaps this was the result of a lack of adequate preparation of the teachers for this project, as well as insufficient follow-up. There were few workshops held for the teachers during the year.

IMPACT ON THE DISTRICT

The philosophy of the district regarding change was described above. Since it is the policy of the school board and downtown that change must be initiated from the grass roots, and since there is no district policy regarding open structure versus traditional education, there has been virtually no spillover in the district. As the director of special projects for the district says,

> The impact of the Roosevelt project on the district has been that the idea of open classroom is being used somewhat, and portions of it have been adopted and absorbed. But it's up to the community and the principal as to whether they want to do this.

According to the Area X coordinator,

> Open education hasn't really caught on here. There is an alternative school in Area X which turned out to be a really free school, and therefore has been a failure. I have given the principals every opportunity to see the Roosevelt program but only a few have taken up this opportunity. However, Roosevelt is one of the best examples of open education.

The coordinator went on to say that the district tends to look backward or negatively at things the kids aren't doing rather than innovatively at what they might be doing. The only way the idea of open structure will spread would be for it to be institutionalized as part of the regular operating funds of the district.

He also feels that teacher training is poor and more money should be put into it. There should be special requirements and added money for training teachers who want to do open structure. If Title III is serious about dissemination, he says,

there should be retraining schools where people could go and do in-service training. They should be given extra pay for this and for bringing their expertise back to their own school. He also feels the principal should be given extra pay for running a project.

There has been practically no spillover of the open-structure concept into the junior high, and the coordinator says the problem is that they don't have positive specifics from open education as to what has happened and what can be done. He adds that change doesn't take place because principals don't have the time to attend to educational needs and also write proposals.

Although over 2000 people have visited Roosevelt, no workshops have been held there. Workshops sponsored by a local university school of continuing education, led by the principal and staff members, were held during the second and third year of the project. It is our observation that there are a few classrooms around the district doing open structure, but these exist independent of Roosevelt influence.

IMPACT ON TEACHER-TRAINING INSTITUTIONS

Student Teacher Coordinator 1 (quoted above) for the large university in the Seaside area describes the student teaching program at her university as being somewhat different from other universities. The students have selected Roosevelt as the school in which they want to do their student teaching because they are interested in open structure. Her student teachers meet with her in seminar, and the student teachers working at other schools meet with their coordinator, so there isn't a chance to exchange ideas or philosophies. For this reason, the open-structure program has not affected teacher education at her university.

The methods classes are also taught by the student teacher coordinator, so that her methods courses are always involved with how to teach in an open-structure individualistic school. She says, though, that she is the only coordinator who is interested in this concept. The others are interested in traditional education, and all of their students come from schools that are more traditional.

Student Teacher Coordinator 2 for the other major local university says that she holds all meetings with her students at the school rather than on campus. Therefore, as in the above case, there is really no chance for students to compare philosophies and schools because they have no opportunity to meet together. She says that she has had some conflict with the principal about the role of the student teachers. He sees them as aides, while she sees them in a learning capacity. She doesn't want them used just to take care of the kids when the teacher has to be elsewhere. She expects that they will have a real educational experience.

The college of Student Teacher Coordinator 3 is committed to open structure and runs its own school. The impact there has been negative, but realistic. She says that in the fall some of her students wanted to quit, because of the traditional and nonhumanistic aspects of the school. She told the students that there are many forms of openness, and that they can find degrees of openness in any classroom. She says that the students learned from this how they could operate within the public school system and begin to open up the classroom by small degrees. Since most of them will end up in fairly traditional public school classrooms, she feels that this experience is probably good for them. The students in her college have set up a course on campus dealing with change in public schools.

All of the student teachers that we spoke to felt there was no spillover from Roosevelt into their schools. They said that they weren't enthusiastic about Roosevelt. They felt that most of the centers had been set up by the student teachers and weren't changed very often. Their lack of enthusiasm may come in part not just from the school experience, but from the fact that their open-structure year certainly won't get them jobs. The city of Seaside does not look for teachers with this experience, and even if they get a job, they'll find it difficult to have an open classroom within the city system.

In neither of the two universities examined is there any spillover based on experience at the school because of the structures that we've already listed. Since the neighboring college is already in and of itself open and runs its own open-structured school, there would be no real chance for spillover there.

CONCLUSIONS

1. Roosevelt School did change physically from a traditional to an open-structured school, but it remains in many respects traditional in feeling and philosophy.
2. The lack of district commitment to change has hampered the project from the beginning, impaired its progress, and inhibited its impact.
3. The principal's dual role of project director and principal is extremely difficult and has hampered his ability to serve as a change agent.

The principal has spent so much time and energy promoting and defending the project to the school board, downtown, Area X, CE, and the 2000 visitors who have come through that he hasn't been able to step back and assess the program. Suggestions for change have been viewed as personal attacks. Although he might

have shared more responsibility with the Title III coordinator, she was never given the authority. The multiplicity of roles that the principal has had to fill has made it impossible for him to build an excellent, open-structured school. Because of district philosophy regarding change, it may be impossible for any Seaside principal to make truly effective, lasting change without the assistance of an outside change agent.

NORTHWOOD

Linda L. Prusoff and Beverly J. Hawkins

Northwood is an important city in the Northeast. Its population of over 100,000--predominantly white Irish Catholics--is largely engaged in shipping, industry, and trade. Many of the city's old downtown buildings have been condemned, and although a major revamping is under way, there is a white flight to the suburbs. Blacks constitute a tenth of the city's population and a third of that in public schools (many of the whites attend parochial schools).

THE SETTING

> It was midmorning and I had just finished interviewing the district superintendent about a "private" school for high school dropouts in his district, the Storefront School. We stepped out of the red-brick district offices, in Green Park, a verdant tree-filled area, located at the top of a gentle hill that overlooked the gray, dust-tinged blight of Northwood.
>
> I had scheduled interviews several blocks away, downhill, at a once-abandoned elementary school, now the Storefront School. When I mentioned where I was going, the superintendent himself immediately offered to drive me there. "You don't want to walk down there alone. It's too dangerous."

In the summer of 1970, a Roman Catholic nun petitioned the Northwood school board to incorporate into the school district a school for present or probable future dropouts. Her petition was denied, and in September the Storefront School opened as a private school, on a "donated" shoestring budget, with one pupil, and appropriately enough, in a storefront. Three years later, with a federally funded budget of over $165,000 and a previous year's enrollment of 125 students, the Storefront School requested, for the third time, annexation to the school district. Again, the request was denied--although the board promised that if federal funds failed, there would always be a Storefront School.

This study details the birth pains and growth of the Northwood Storefront School, as reconstructed from newspaper articles, from document files of local and state education agencies, and from a myriad of interviews with school personnel, students, parents, and cab drivers about their knowledge of, responses to, and interaction with "that school on Page Street."

In reviewing the field notes and reconstructing our impressions of the interviews, we were continually struck by strong but subtle and consistent differences between school district and Storefront School representatives about the interpretation of how this innovation was initiated, implemented, and adapted. These differences in effect constitute the history of the project.

Before describing how this innovation was carried out, a further observation about the reporting of these differences must be noted. Typically, the tone and intensity of our conversations with Storefront School as compared with LEA personnel differed vastly--and for good reason. Those connected with the school--administrators, faculty, and students--showed the zeal of crusaders. Their fight for incorporation into the school district was a sacred one, and their fervor was evident in the lengthy and often graphic depictions of both the start of the movement and the "atrocities" that were committed and perpetrated by the school district. Their rhetoric was often passionate and always interesting.

District personnel, on the other hand, saw themselves as having the weighty responsibility of properly educating pupils in their charge. They saw themselves as having done this job to the best of their abilities, and they would continue to do so. The Storefront School was just one of many items to consider, and it was just one more item on an agenda, not a major battle. As would be expected, "district memory" about the Storefront School events was general and not characterized by passion.

Against these viewpoints, we present the origins and developments of the Storefront School. In order to understand the hows and whys of project initiation, a brief background of district history and politics is needed.

THE DISTRICT AND POLITICAL CULTURE

Northwood is a predominantly white Irish Catholic city, tightly controlled by a Democratic party machine. The incumbent mayor has served for many years, and until two years ago he had appointed the district superintendent and the three-man school board. In 1971, the first election of a seven-man school board took place.

About half the school-age population is in public schools; private (mostly parochial) schools claim the other half. During the past three years, the public school population has dropped from approximately 13,000 pupils in 1970 to 10,000 pupils currently. These students have either transferred to private schools or their parents have fled to the suburbs. This "white flight" is reflected in the

changing racial composition of the public schools. Whereas six years ago the black population represented a quarter of the student body, it now totals a third of those enrolled in public schools. The total black population of the city is about 10 percent.

Much of the public school population is drawn from the three major poverty areas in town: the south end, the north end, and the Mountainview area. From population data collected in the 1970 census, about half the district qualified for Title I funds.

ORIGINS OF THE STOREFRONT SCHOOL

In the summer of 1970 the black president of the local Urban League and a White Irish Catholic nun met on a local television talk show. Both had long been troubled by the growing numbers of school-age children at odds with the school system. In addition to 20 years of teaching experience, Sister Joseph had been involved with Storefront School-like projects in a neighboring big city since 1965. The Urban League president had community contacts with various businesses and black parent groups. This chance meeting of two effective people with skills, contacts, and similar interests was the beginning of the Northwood Storefront School.

The needs of the children in the community had long been known to both. The president was aware of the distress of the black community about their kids "being on the street," and the sister lived with three other nuns in an otherwise all black public housing project on the north end of town. During what should have been school days, she was puzzled by the number of school-age children hanging around the five concrete buildings of the housing project.

The public school system recognizes a student as a dropout when he is 16 years old and opts to leave school. Before that time, he is an officially enrolled, albeit truant, student. According to Sister Joseph, school officials assumed that these absent under-16-year-olds had been sent to training centers by the district attendance officer.

Sister Joseph spoke to junior high school principals who, according to her, admitted that each year they lost over one-third of their 8th and 9th graders.* Armed with these figures and with a proposal for establishing a Storefront School

*In several other instances, the sister's presentation of facts turned out to be exaggerated. However, even if the numbers were inflated, the situation itself is quite real.

as part of the public school system, the sister approached the district superintendent of schools.

Although the stories of the chief participants differ here, their reporting of events is not entirely inconsistent, and the outcome for the Storefront School remains the same. According to Sister Joseph, her proposal was turned down because the district had made other arrangements for serving these children--an alternative school for teenage mothers and opportunity classes for "disruptive" students.

Whereas the Urban League president and the sister were concerned with "dropouts," no matter what their age or grade level, the school administration had been noting that "kids in primary grades were having difficulties, and junior high school kids were not interested [in school]." The proposers of the Storefront School felt that a strong affective component of education would best reach these children. The school district, on the other hand, had these students tested for brain damage; their electroencephalograms registered normal. The district then responded to these "disruptive" students by grouping them into special classes, which currently serve the 6th through 8th grades.

To gather support for the Storefront School, Sister Joseph approached the wealthy Irish Catholic businessmen of the community and enlisted their support. The SEA awarded the Storefront School $3,000 for in-service training. Donations came from the Bishop, the Urban League, and various private industries.

Having now gathered support from many areas of the community, the Storefront School founders brought this information to the mayor. According to the sister, the superintendent of schools called the next day and offered $15,000 of Title I money.* At the same time, he asked the SEA to match this money with Title III funds, which it did.**

The district superintendent, on the other hand, recalls the original Storefront School proposal as filling a need in the school district, although there were reservations about its "eligibility" as a public school. "Any efforts that would have been made [for disruptive senior high school students] were shelved."

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*The original Storefront School proposal requested about $130,000 of LEA or Title funds.

**Sister Joseph had previously contacted Title III program officers in the SEA who had expressed interest in the project. Although this was not a competition year for Title III monies, the SEA was looking for some "rollover" money for the Storefront School when the school superintendent called.

STOREFRONT SCHOOL STRUCTURE

For the psychological and physical dropouts of the school district, the Storefront School offered a radical and experimental form of education. School attendance became voluntary. Neither grades nor graded report cards were used. The formality of the classroom was replaced by the informality of the storefront, which originally served as a "clubhouse" meeting area, and the city was used as a learning laboratory and source of curriculum.

Then, as now, students had the freedom to talk to each other and their teachers; they could leave the room or building as they pleased. Individual and small group instruction replaced the lecture-style classroom typical of the school district. The teaching philosophy is "use whatever works"--whether it be peer teaching, counseling, or multiage grouping with differentiated academic levels. Whereas curriculum is dictated by district headquarters for the LEA, storefront school curriculum is oriented toward the interests of the teachers and students.

In contrast to the many rules and regulations of the school district, the Storefront School has only two behavioral requirements: no physical violence and no interference with another person's learning. In addition to meeting the unit requirements specified by the state for high school graduation, mastery of basic skills is required rather than assumed. To graduate, a Storefront School student must have achieved a 10th grade reading level (as measured by the Iowa Test of Basic Skills, Test R, Form 6) and a 9th grade mathematics level (as measured by the Iowa Test of Basic Skills, Test M, Forms 5, 6).

NORTHWOOD STOREFRONT SCHOOL, 1970-1972

During its first two years, the Storefront School struggled for survival. Funding was tight. The promised Title III money did not arrive until February 1972, and the staff of six moonlighted to support themselves.

Although money was short, volunteers from the local university and college were plentiful. Local businesses donated equipment and rooms in their office building, and employees, paid on company time, were found to instruct the Storefront School children.

The school opened in September 1970 with one student. Within four days they had 16 children who had walked in from the street. Kids brought in other kids. By the end of the academic year, the school staff had worked with 90 students; 60 students were enrolled. Half the students were black, and half of them were

male. Of the six graduates, five enrolled in college. Of those students attending the school in its first year, four chose to return to the public school system.

Students who had stopped going to regular schools were now attending this one--with an overall attendance record which matched that of the district. Dropouts with no diploma and no future now had a high school diploma which represented the same number of credits as a public high school diploma.

Following the first year's success, the school collected $40,000 from the community during a major fund-raising drive. The local business community continued to donate classrooms, equipment, and instructors. The LEA funneled $35,000 in Title I monies and $17,000 in Title III monies to the school. At the same time, public school status, which would mean financial security, was denied. Not all staff members were certified. The district noted that course content was not standard. For the LEA, the success of this operation had clearly not been proved.

NORTHWOOD STOREFRONT SCHOOL, 1972-1973

When the SEA announced open competition for Title III funds in December 1971, the Storefront School immediately responded with a letter of intent. Having received small sums of "leftover" Title III money for the first two years, school personnel had not yet realized what large sums of money were potentially available. What they had "unofficially" received before, they assumed could now be "officially" requested. Their letter of intent notes that a budget of $100,000 is needed, of which the Storefront School would like "$30,000 from ESEA Title III . . . to acquire the services of additional staff members." Only later, at a week-long grant writing workshop sponsored by the SEA, did Storefront School administrators realize how much money could be involved, and since the school was to become the LEA's first Title III project, school district administrators apparently were also quite surprised.

Comments by reviewers of the 1972-1973 Title III proposal gave warning of problems to come between the Storefront School and the LEA. Although the project was funded ($120,000 of Title III funds from Sept. 1, 1972 to Sept. 30, 1973), reservations were expressed about the lack of LEA commitment, the vagueness of evaluation procedures, and the large amounts of money needed by the project. Typical comments read:

> Evaluation procedures incompletely described. Replication of program and dissemination depend on results specified. Budget from

three sources other than Title III might reduce Title III support needed. This project proposal apparently has no Board of Education approval. . . .

Much commitment outside of LEA--but I suspect reticence from the LEA itself.

Title III monies cannot be directly awarded to a private school; the LEA must agree to serve as a conduit for the federal funds. In addition, the SEA has a policy of not awarding Title III monies to a district that will not itself make a financial commitment to a project. In other cities, Title III funding is typically reduced by 20 percent each year; the district is to pick up the balance. The LEA was informed of these "requirements." The Storefront School project director was directed by the SEA to request $100,000 the first year, $80,000 the second year, and $60,000 the third year.

The usual procedure in applying for Title III funds is for project proponents to submit a proposal to the LEA, the agency responsible for administering the project. If the LEA approves the proposal, it so indicates by forwarding a signed copy to the SEA. In the case of the Storefront School, proposals were sent simultaneously to the LEA and SEA. Funds were "awarded" to the school before the LEA approved the application--on the condition that the LEA would approve the application.

The Storefront School project director reports that the LEA was stunned by the amounts of Title III funds available. It was not prepared to categorically refuse this report, but it was not willing to commit district funds (i.e., incorporate the Storefront School into the LEA) either.

After many debates, delays, promises, and false starts, the school board signed an agreement with the Storefront School--but would not pass a resolution incorporating the school into the school district. Eventually, many months after the past-due date, the superintendent signed the proposal, and the school board awarded an additional $65,000 of Title I money to the school. Although the school paid for maintenance, the city provided a rent-free building.

With the dramatic increase in federal funds, the Storefront School expanded, both physically and philosophically. Not only did staff size jump to 18, but all could now be paid, and on a district salary schedule. The school could accommodate up to 160 students, spanning grades 7 through 12. Approximately 125 students attended the school; 14 students graduated and, of these, 5 continued their education.

Long-range objectives shifted. Whereas the project was originally focused on the dropout and potential dropout population, the 1972-1973 proposal suggested: "If the project is successful, it could serve as a model for gradual change of whole

segments of the educational system to a more open and relevant approach to education for all students." The goal of incorporation into the school district to ensure both continuity and financial stability was now expanded to make "open education" a viable alternative within the public school system.

NORTHWOOD STOREFRONT SCHOOL, 1973-1974

Annexation Avoided

Since 1970, the annual budget hearings of the school board signaled the renewal of the Storefront School fight for incorporation into the school district. This year the school board's decision appeared to be more crucial than in previous years. Because of federal funding irregularities, it was rumored that all federal funds were to be frozen, which would mean death for the Storefront School unless it became eligible for tax dollars by becoming a public school.

Rumors circulated through the community that the school board was "going to get rid of the Storefront School." The May 22 school board meeting was packed with several hundred people who were concerned that the Storefront School continue as an institution. They included current Storefront School faculty and students and their parents, Storefront School graduates, and Storefront School dropouts.

The students fought so eloquently for their school that the superintendent of schools leaned over to the school project director and asked if he had taught the kids public speaking. Five of the seven school board members stated that annexation would remove the school's flexibility in dealing with pupils. The other two members replied, "Do we have to destroy everything we adopt?"

The newspaper headline the next day told the story: "Storefront School Annexation Avoided." What the school won was a promise from the board for financial support if federal monies were lost. In addition, the board agreed to rent the school an empty elementary school in town for $1 a year. Heat, light, and custodial services were provided free. In many respects, the Storefront School was now a private school in name only.

The 1973-1974 continuation proposal reflected several district-imposed changes in the Storefront School population. Instead of serving six grade levels, the school could now accept students from grades 9 through 12 only. Whereas Storefront School administrators wanted to increase the number of students served, the district superintendent insisted on limiting enrollment to 80 students; later, at the urging of the LEA school attendance officer, he increased the number of students to 100.

The superintendent stated that these changes were made in order to better evaluate the school program. With fewer students and a shorter grade span, it would be easier for the district to (1) control admissions, (2) understand the school's curriculum, and (3) discern the underlying structure.* Until this was done, it would be impossible for the district to decide whether to incorporate the school or start its own project for dropouts.

This may very well be true. But the decrease in the Storefront School budget, as shown in Table 1, should also be noted. By cutting the program, the district did not have to put in tax dollars, subverting the intent of the SEA.

Table 1

STOREFRONT SCHOOL COST DATA,
SEPTEMBER 1973-JUNE 1974 ($)

Source	
Title I FY 74	55,813
Title III FY 74	81,965
Title III FY 73 (September extension)	8,792
Textbook law	800
Other sources (donations, etc.)	1,700
Total	149,070

LEA and Project Interactions

At the end of May 1974, the incorporation of the Storefront School into the school district will again be brought before the school board. More than likely, its response will be the same as in previous years because this year's decision is not crucial. Next year's decision will be; the Storefront School will have exhausted its allotted three years of federal Title III funding. The LEA must decide whether to (1) make the school an alternative high school within the public school system, (2) cease funding the school and begin its own "more acceptable" program for dropouts, or (3) use federal funds to continue the school (so long as it remains a private school, use of district funds is illegal).

*These points of contention between the district and the Storefront School are examined in the next section, which describes the relationship between the LEA and the Storefront School.

The dilemma of the district, and therefore of the Storefront School, can best be understood as a clash of cultures--each group apparently perceiving the same events quite differently. These cultural/structural differences seem to be at the heart of the conflict between the district and the school. These viewpoints must be understood before assessing the impact of the one system upon the other.

During three days in Northwood, we talked to most of the school district people who had some form of contact with the Storefront School--school board members, the district superintendent, the district federal program manager, the principal of Northwood's only public high school, the school attendance officer, and the LEA subject supervisors (those persons in the district charged with evaluating both curriculum and teachers). Their reaction to the Storefront School was merely lukewarm. However, all agreed with the sentiments expressed by the public high school principal that "the need for the program is unqualified."

All LEA officials that we spoke with had strong qualifications about what they perceived as the Storefront School's lack of structure. What the LEA did not understand was that what they saw as "lack of structure" was the alternative structure offered by this project for what they (the school district) did recognize as an unqualified need.

Numerous instances can be cited. Great concern was expressed because the students could wander in and out of the classroom and the school as they pleased. Attendance at the Storefront School was 75 percent of all enrolled, sometimes as low as 50 percent; attendance in the school district was 90 percent.* Although the district recognized that if there were no Storefront School these students would be 100 percent absent, still, they chaffed at the school's "lax" attitude about attendance.

The LEA disapproved of the students wandering in and out of the classroom and school as they pleased. The district felt that "this type of student needs structure. We need to put a collar on these kids." In some ways, the affective component of the Storefront School education process proved bothersome. "They want to give their kids success experiences--but they can't afford not to prepare them for the Scholastic Aptitude Test."

The LEA expressed concern over the smoking allowed inside the school, because of fire hazards; the curriculum content, because--among other

*It was noted by the school attendance officer that attendance decreases as the grade level increases. Therefore, in a comparison of average attendance percentages between an entire school district and the high school level, only those of the Storefront School were not commensurate.

things--standard English was not emphasized; the teaching methods, because "the teachers cater too much to the free spirit;" and, in general, the lack of discipline among teachers, administrators and students.

The response of Storefront School personnel to the district's misperceptions, confusion and demands was, at its best, annoyance and at its worst, paranoia. The district asked school personnel to keep daily attendance records and time records each day. Project personnel found this a meaningless district-imposed task, one that was eventually discarded after much frustration and aggravation on the part of both administrations. The district insisted all teachers be certified; school personnel felt thwarted--they wanted to hire personnel on "the basis of their ability rather than on the number of education classes taken."

Often, school personnel felt that the district was "out to get them." Books were ordered (through the school district as required) and never arrived. The superintendent's long delays in giving district approval to the project's Title III proposal was seen as "malicious"--rather than as reluctance to tacitly indicate commitment of district funds when he was not yet ready to assume that responsibility.

If school personnel needed to buy equipment or decided to take a field trip that was not in the approved budget, they unofficially reallocated funds and did what they felt was important. The school board's objections were viewed as one more example of its attempts to thwart the school. That the school board had a legitimate grievance was not clearly seen. In fact, as grantee it was financially responsible for all expenses not approved by the SEA. At one point, a Storefront School spokesman said "he [the superintendent] is not above planting dope" to discredit the school.

ROLE OF THE SEA

The catalogue of grievances and complaints seems endless. What would begin as sincere misperceptions could over time easily metamorphose into petty bickering and deliberate provocations. Reactions were to reactions rather than to first causes.

If not for the interest and concern of the SEA, the project might have been cut adrift of all LEA support. The willingness of the SEA to be flexible in its policies and to act as mediator between the demands of the conflicting institutions greatly enabled the growth of the Storefront School.

It may be that this stand was indeed the official SEA policy for maintaining this kind of innovation in this kind of school district. However, it should also be

noted that a number of unique circumstances were involved. With the Storefront School and the LEA almost within eyesight of the SEA, problems were highly visible and the SEA could respond quickly.

In addition, the SEA project monitor was a former classmate of the two top Storefront School administrators. In addition to supporting the philosophy and goals of the school, there was personal commitment. *

STOREFRONT SCHOOL EFFECT ON THE LEA

On the surface it would appear that the Storefront School has had very little effect on the LEA. The district conducts business as usual, as does the school. However, changes in the district wrought by the school, while not superficial, are not easily discernible.

At a time when the district was beginning to recognize that it had a problem, persons from outside the district ranks arrived at a solution. The district took its pre-dropout children, teenage mothers, and disruptive students and hoped that isolation from the public school system and smaller class sizes would help alleviate problems. The Storefront School encompassed a larger population--those children already out of school as well as those still in. It offered the alternative of voluntary attendance in a nongraded school with an open-classroom environment.

Although the district is not willing to view the project as a success, for four years it has not been able to call it a failure. Strong student and community support cannot be denied. That students are not only graduating but also continuing their education cannot be denied.

At the least, the LEA has not only been exposed to this alternative form of education but also has been forced to consider it for public school adoption. The district has had to examine itself to see if this alternative could be accommodated.

So far, the response of the LEA majority has been "no." Subject supervisors have expressed fears that if the Storefront School was admitted to the school district, all discipline would break down. (They also expressed concern that public school high school students had as much as five minutes between classes to run outside and smoke.) The district superintendent does not see how the school can be taken into the school district without giving up its own board of directors and adopting district policy. However, the still small voice of a

*Although there is no direct correlation with the Storefront School alone, the school project monitor has taken a medical leave of absence from the SEA. In part because of over-involvement with "her" projects, she had a nervous breakdown.

district minority (two school board members) can now be heard, and the debate over whether to be or not to be is just beginning.

So far, the most definitive Storefront School effect on the district has been the school board commitment that there will always be a Storefront School. All now acknowledge that there is a great need. The best way of meeting it remains debatable.

The Storefront Store

Although Storefront School personnel are unanimous about wanting annexation to the school district, there are quiet internal battles about the educational directions the school should take. From its beginnings four years ago, the school has slowly been moving away from the street. From a storefront where most resources had to be found in the community, the school is now quietly ensconced in a public school building. The overwhelming majority of courses are offered in the building by school faculty. The current program director regards use of the community "as a frill," and he feels that the students do not want to leave the building.

One of the founders (the Roman Catholic nun), who now serves as consultant to the school and as a very powerful force on its board of directors, holds the opposite viewpoint. She finds using the city as a classroom crucial and remaining in the classroom a teacher preference.

There is dissension, which has not yet reached open argument, between the school's board of directors and its administrators over another issue of resource allocation. In the past the school had been run on a lower cost-per-pupil basis than the public schools. The city's net current expenditure is $1451 per pupil; the Storefront School has spent as little as $675 per pupil, although it now spends approximately $1300. The board disapproves of "the current mentality that thinks if the city spends x amount of money, the Storefront School should too." The board feels that rather than one teacher for every 15 students, costs can be cut by using differentiated staffing, that is, a master teacher, beginning teacher, community aide and college volunteer to handle as many as 50 to 60 students on a mini-school basis. If the school takes this direction soon, the teacher's union most likely will take exception to its becoming a public school.

Other Districts

The Storefront School is itself a disseminated innovation from the Storefront Schools of New York and the Philadelphia Parkway School. One of the

Northwood Storefront School's founders had worked with New York Storefront School students; before writing her first proposal to the Northwood school district, she returned to New York to study how these schools worked. When the LEA was debating whether to be funding conduit for Title III monies, the SEA awarded a development grant for the Storefront School project director to show a LEA representative similar alternative schools (e.g., Harlem Prep and Parkway) on the East Coast.

A similar seeding function has apparently been served by the Northwood Storefront School. According to the project director, other districts have visited the Storefront School and adopted the project in whole or part. Although there was no time to verify this statement by visiting the other districts, the Storefront School does appear a plausible alternative for interesting disaffected children in education.

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

Initiation

Since its inception, the Northwood Storefront School has been "outside" the public school system. Its proposers, developers, administrators and teachers came from outside the LEA. Even its students were outsiders, those who had physically or psychologically dropped out of school.

More than likely, this particular kind of project would not have originated within the LEA. Although the timing was right in that the district was becoming aware of "problems," the "structural" solutions proposed and implemented were alien to the LEA.

Before Title III was accepting proposals, carefully organized community support was needed to initiate the Storefront School. Without this financially necessary and politically astute move, the LEA would have succeeded in avoiding for a long while, if not completely ignoring, the issues presented by the school.

If private schools were not eligible for Title III monies, it would have been very difficult, if not impossible, for the school to gain the financial clout to make the LEA take notice of it.

Because the SEA was committed to the intent rather than to the bureaucratic letter of Title III funds, the LEA was pressured into considering the Storefront School for potential adoption.

These last two points raise questions about how many meritorious proposals are killed before reaching the SEA. Should a traditionally stable and conservative

institution have this much say over other institutions, which may mirror faults in the old structure?

Implementation

Without the strength of convictions and drive of its initiators, the idea of the project would have died in an unresponsive environment.

Careful staff selection and training have always been a major Storefront School component. In-service training has been written into all school proposals, although it has not been funded as extensively as school officials would wish.

Apparently "ownership" has never got in the way of what is best for the school. It was decided early by the initiators that the school needed to be headed by a black male. Interviews were held, a teacher with five years' experience in working with emotionally disturbed children hired, and before being appointed, the project director served a year's apprenticeship to the founder who had previous experience in administering a Storefront School-type project.

Continuation

The zeal that initiated the Storefront School may now be working to its detriment. The absolute conviction in the "rightness" of the school by its personnel is matched by the same conviction of its "wrongness" by the district. Public expression of these opinions has resulted in the alienation of those whose support the school needs--for example, the superintendent and school board officials.

Effect of the Title III Program

By far the most significant effect of the Title III program, in this instance, is the federal requirement that the LEA administer the project. This stipulation both forced and maintained interaction between the LEA and the project. Whether this is a strategy that will pay off in the long run is difficult to tell. As stated in Volume I of this report, ". . . given the highly stable nature of the educational system, one would expect to find only incremental change at the leading edges, and that such changes would cumulate slowly."

This indeed may be happening, but other scenarios, not necessarily mutually exclusive of the Berman/McLaughlin description, are also possible. For example, the project may be taken into the system and live on in name only while the spirit

dies. What has been described as growth pains may actually be the chaffing caused by constant irritation.

The Storefront School project director described his students as "33rd on my list of frustrations." The first 32 hassles are LEA related. The director's longing is to get away from traditional bureaucracies by becoming part of an as-yet hypothetical separate state system of alternative high schools. This becomes another alternative to changing the current bureaucracy.

Storefront Schools have been in existence for approximately eight years. They have been founded as a reaction to the traditional school system's unresponsiveness to the needs of certain students. Histories of these Storefront Schools, examining successes and failures, and understanding why, would allow us to study the organizational changes (or non-changes) that occur when a traditional system is confronted with an alternative system that purports to correct the traditional failures.

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LEWISON

Dale Mann and Lawrence McCluskey

INITIATION

Lewison is a small essentially rural community about 25 miles northeast of a major midwestern city. The school district employs about 160 teachers and serves nine attendance areas, all of which are white, blue-collar, and working middle-class communities. The staff of the Lewison schools is gregarious and frequently meets together outside of school in various social contexts. During these meetings the educational process in the district is the most frequent topic of discussion. The need for a project was conceived during a series of these informal meetings. A nucleus of four staff members sought to place more emphasis on student involvement, individualized instruction, and improved student self-concept as part of the educational process. Most of them shared a common background of graduate school experience. As a result, one staff member, who had had experience with externally funded projects, was encouraged to write a proposal for Title III funds in an attempt to have these outcomes incorporated into the district's educational design. This staff member, who was at the time the curriculum coordinator in the district, wrote the project proposal along the lines suggested by a program in pre-service teacher education--a self-contained package with behavioral objectives for students, learning activities for teachers, self-assessment, and finally formal assessment.

The Lewison Teachers' Association had had a standing committee on instruction and it assisted in developing the proposal. The group recognized that the proposal, even in its embryonic stages, had to have the approval of the local school superintendent who decided which proposals get sent forward and the state Title III official who decided which proposals get funded. To avoid the censure of the superintendent, the proposal had to be innocuous--so it was. To gain funding, the proposal had to deal with measurable outcomes and target group students--so it did. To allow the interested parties to carry off their own agendas, the proposal had to be general--so it was.

Alternatives were not considered since the idea for the project came before the writing of the proposal. In other words, project outcomes (and, perhaps, treatments) were decided in advance of the writing of the proposal.

Funding Negotiations

Lewison had never had a Title III grant, or, for that matter, much other soft project money. The superintendent, although quite genial, is oriented toward maintaining a quiet system. He took a neutral attitude toward the proposal. The state education agency (SEA) made no changes except to reduce the stipend from $125 to $100 per teacher for completion of each individual self-instructional kit.

Planning

Project planning was apparently done by a small group of individuals within the district who shared similar concerns about instructional issues. These included the curriculum coordinator, who, in an impressive display of grantsmanship, wrote the proposal, and a 5th grade teacher of gifted children and her husband, who was then a math teacher at the elementary level. Their major concern was the nature of the instructional processes in the district, although the SEA was later to specify simpler objectives for the project.

The target population of students was specified on a strict statistical basis but never publicly identified. Although most people realized that the activities were targeted on poor children, they wanted to avoid labeling them. Moreover, any instructional improvements would be available to everyone. The target population of teachers was the full complement of district teachers. (Even at this early stage of the project's development there was division about goals and methods. The planners in the district wanted to direct their efforts toward teachers, with modification of teacher behavior (process) influencing student performance. The SEA, on the other hand, wanted quantifiable results in terms of output impact, that is, change in students.)

Support/Opposition

The administration had apparently decided at this point to let the proposal writing/planning group go ahead. After all, what chance did such an idea have of gaining funding? The support for the project after it was funded came from the group of people who had conceived the original idea and from their immediate associates. There was no real opposition; rather, there was a large, silent group of open-mouthed people with question marks over their heads.

Both Model A (Problem Solving) and Model C (Opportunistic Response) could be said to apply in this project. There was, no doubt, a perceived need on the

part of some teachers to change the instructional processes within the district. The chance of support for such change coming from within the district was slim, so outside assistance was sought. The innovation rubric (under Title III) seemed an apparent source of outside funding, so some of the project's goals were tailored to enhance the probability of funding ("alienation" and "vandalism") while still allowing the opportunity for members of the project staff to implement the changes they saw as desirable.

Initial Recruitment

When the project was funded, the staff suddenly found itself on the other side of the looking glass. Trainees had to be recruited. Of course, interpersonal relationships could be capitalized on. Since the project staff had most contact with the elementary school and junior high school staffs, their primary contacts were made there. Thus, the initial group of trainees were friendly and highly sympathetic toward the project. This may account for the relative success of the project during its initial year (22 teachers completed kits during the first year).

Baseline Characteristics

Lewison is an all-white, blue-collar, middle-class school district. Its facilities, which include two nonpublic schools, vary in age, but are adequate for the needs of the students and staff. There is little concern over "extra" funds since they are seldom available. (Lewison has never refused a school budget, but an essentially rural tax base enforces a sense of frugality in the schools' operations.) The pupil/teacher ratio is approximately 30/1 and the staff, which varies widely in age, has little turnover. Lewison currently reviews 100 applications for every teacher it hires. According to the proposal, about 1 out of every 4 students leaves school before high school graduation because of the lure of the blue-collar job market. Because of the tightening of the job market and the opening nearby of a community college and a branch of the state university, these statistics could soon change drastically.

CURRENT OPERATIONS

Characteristics of the Project

Goals and Objectives. According to the "Application for Continuation," the project now professes three specific objectives for target group students:

1. An increase in student self-esteem.
2. A decrease in the number and intensity of student behavior problems.
3. An increase in mean growth rate in reading.

All three of these objectives are clearly defined, and procedures for evaluation of tneir achievement are plainly outlined. It appears, however, that these project objectives were written into the application at the urging of the SEA, probably because they lend themselves to measurement more easily than the goals the project staff would prefer to espouse. The staff goals, as enumerated by the project director, include:

1. Enhanced student self-concept.
2. Increased individualized instruction.
3. Increased involvement of students in the learning process.
4. Shift in teachers' emphasis from content to process of education.

Two of the goals mentioned in the original project proposal have disappeared. These two goals were:

1. A lower dropout rate.
2. A lessening of the amount of vandalism within the system.

At least two reasons suggest themselves for the deletion of the dropout goal from the project. First, the project has had a minimal effect on the high school, the place where dropouts are a problem. Second, the dropout rate is on the decline as a result of (1) a declining number of blue-collar, entry-level jobs in the surrounding area and (2) the appearance of a community college and a branch of the state university in neighboring communities.

The vandalism goal was dropped from the goal compendium despite the fact that the superintendent reports high costs to the district for maintenance and

custodial operations. We can only guess that the project was never designed to address itself to the issue of vandalism. Rather, the vandalism goal was included in the original proposal to enhance funding possibilities. (After all, the hypothesis "If students have a positive attitude toward school, they won't write on the walls, break windows, etc." is not supported by research.)

Goal Centrality. It would be ludicrous to say that the project goals stated in the application are at odds with the district's stated or tacitly implied goals. After all, who would say that the school shouldn't try to decrease problems relating to student behavior or to increase students' self-esteem and performance in reading? However, it appears that there is a great difference between the project's and the district's traditional approach toward achieving these ends. Many of the district personnel feel that negative sanctions, including corporal punishment, are an effective means toward achieving these ends. One respondent reported that students would have better feelings of self-esteem if they conformed with a rule that governed the hair length of students participating in varsity sports, although the same respondent stated that because of this rule, participation in varsity sports was on the decline. (The junior high school has an outstanding record in interscholastic sports; the high school record is only fair to poor.)

The goals enunciated by the project staff are not in conformity with the pre-existing goals of the system. That is, the goals of improved student self-concept, increased individualized instruction, increased student involvement in learning, and a shift to learning process orientation were not priority items for the district before the beginning of the project.

Goal Consonance. From the foregoing discussion, it should be clear that one set of project goals, those enumerated in the proposal, are probably consonant with district goals, if only because it is virtually impossible for a district to be opposed to any of them. On the other hand, in the absence of a stated district policy, it is quite possible for a district to be opposed (or indifferent) to the set of goals outlined by the project director. In fact, many of the staff questioned were opposed to the notion of students' involvement in the learning process, to individualized instruction, and to any shift away from emphasis on content in teaching. Only the goal of improved student self-concept remained immune from attack by this group. Apparently, it is difficult to argue that the school should not improve the self-concept of its clients, and perhaps this explains the popularity of the self-concept kit (see below).

Treatment. The processes of the staff training continue as originally planned. The target group of students has been identified; the target group of teachers continues to be everyone in the district who will volunteer for training. After the project was funded, members of the training staff did some surveying of the staff to determine precise needs. In order to decide what to include in the kits they asked, "What competencies are necessary to be a good student?" They then "factored" this list into four major behavioral areas. The four kits available to teachers still deal with individualized instruction, active involvement, processes, and self-concept, although these kits have been simplified over the duration of the project to emphasize elements of each kit that proved most successful and to eliminate those aspects that failed to produce results. As in the past, teachers volunteer to try to complete a kit, with an eye toward a "Proficiency Assessment" by project staff and principal which will certify that they have completed the kit successfully. Teacher progress through each of these kits is self-paced, and failure to receive a satisfactory proficiency assessment indicates merely that a later assessment is in order. To date, 33 teachers have completed one kit, 11 have completed two, 3 have completed three, and 1 has completed all four. Teachers are given as much time as they require to complete a kit, and, while some become discouraged and fail to complete the kit they have chosen, it is the experience of the project director that the teachers who complete an initial kit will go on to complete others.

This is the most "print-oriented" of any of the projects studied. The main vehicle for staff development is the provision to teachers in training of self-instructional kits.

Materials. The kits were developed by the project personnel. Each of the four project staff selected a subject area--individualized instruction, active involvement, processes, or self-concept--and prepared a kit of materials. For each kit, specific, operationalized objectives were specified, and the test of performance to the specifications of these objectives was left to the Proficiency Assessment.

The members of the training staff have been concerned that they can be in the schools "too much," that their presence could build resentment among experienced teachers. Thus, the trainees (most of whom have five years or so of teaching experience) have been reluctant to give demonstration lessons to Lewison's more senior staff. Critics of the project refer to "fortress mentality."

Testing. Similarly, the "testing procedure" is the Proficiency Assessment, which is carried out (at the request of the trainee) by the school principal and a

member of the project staff. These observers must certify that the trainee is able to perform in a classroom situation in accordance with the list of Terminal Teacher Behaviors related to each of the kits. Once this certification is given, the teacher is eligible to receive the reward and to proceed (if desired) to another kit. If certification of completion is withheld, the teacher may request another Proficiency Assessment at a later date. Evaluations are conducted by the project staff with the principal after a meeting with the teacher to agree on objectives. Failure to pass an evaluation is common (one school had had half a dozen in as many months), but everyone seems to accept that gracefully and the teachers often tutor each other in order to ensure passing.

Classroom Organization. Changes in classroom organization may be considered a secondary result of project impact; that is, teachers affected by the training they receive may (or may not) elect to change the organization of their classrooms. In some cases, teachers report a dramatic change in the way that they organize and conduct their classes. In others, teachers say that they have changed in the way that they relate to kids, but they maintain that classroom organization has remained stable. (There may be several reasons why this is so: In some cases, teachers maintained a semi-open class before receiving the training; as a result, their classes required little alteration after the training period. A second guess would be that variation in classroom organization as a result of the training is a function of which kit the individual teacher chose to complete.)

Staff Development. Staff development in this project is carried out by giving teachers who nominally volunteer for training a choice of four kits to complete. In reality, the project has had to go out to the schools and recruit volunteers, although some trained teachers are now selling the idea to other teachers. Successful completion of the kit is rewarded by a cash stipend ($100 per kit), too small a sum to attract volunteers except lay teachers in the parochial schools who badly need the money. Since the kits are designed to be self-pacing, duration of the training varies.

The kits themselves are readings accompanied by paper and pencil exercises. When a teacher thinks he or she is ready, the project staff, accompanied by the principal, visits the teacher and observes the classroom performance. Originally the visits had been on a scheduled-only basis, but teacher confidence in the fairness of the evaluation procedures is such that some are now nonscheduled. Satisfactory completion is determined on the cumulative evidence from as many as three visits.

The target group seems to have become (by default?) elementary school teachers, rather than all district teachers. Some people attribute this to the fact

that the baby boom has passed through Lewison's elementary schools leaving those teachers with some slack for change while the junior high and high schools are still hard pressed to cope with their overcrowded classes.

This project has not added much staff. Project staff include:

- A project director (ex-curriculum coordinator)
- Two in-service specialists (ex-teachers of gifted kids)
- An evaluation specialist (ex-guidance counselor)
- A secretary

These people were employed by the district before the project's funding and all are now charged against the project's budget. It appears that it is not the number but rather the type of people that has contributed to the project's impact.

Management. The project staff has the major responsibility for project operation/maintenance within the district. Other district personnel (outside of the trainees) have little to do with the project. The project director appears to be both the task leader and emotional leader of the project; he decides (in cooperation and consultation) with the SEA the allocation of project resources. He has a fixed project budget, but also has an agreement with the SEA that money may be shifted within the budget should the need arise. Lewison's SEA requires it (as well as all other LEAs) to develop and submit a list of teaching staff competencies. Most districts have made minimal responses, but this project has been instrumental in the core and detail of the district's list. In addition, the SEA has had trouble retaining its personnel. The project has had 5 regional supervisors in 20 months, each one of whom feels constrained to require changes in the Lewison project in order to justify his job.

Members of the project staff also shoulder the responsibility of planning the future of the project. Next year they plan to involve community groups, and, although this decision probably involved the consent of the school district administration, the idea seems to have been originated by the staff. Planning of activities that do not involve people outside of the school's professional staff (i.e., modification of the training package, alteration of project goals) seems to be left to the project staff (and the SEA).

Apparently, the target group (teacher trainees) have little to do with the management of the project. People who volunteer for training do so for motives of their own and appear unconcerned about the way the project is managed. The

volunteers are generally unaware of the effect the project is supposed to have on a district-wide basis. (Several of the volunteers were surprised to learn that they would receive a stipend on the completion of their kits.)

As a general rule, all of Lewison's administrators have maintained a cautiously neutral attitude toward the project. Several see the project's activities as frivolous, but are unwilling to condemn them (lest the project prove successful, etc.). While this neutral attitude has not hindered the project's progress in certain instances (i.e., where school staff has been receptive to training), it has been detrimental to the project in those cases where school staff is either negative (high school) or uncertain about the training. Since the teachers pick up the administrators' attitudes toward the project, the administrators' neutrality (indifference) leaves them unsure whether or not the training is considered "good" or "bad." They must then rely on peer group judgment and are influenced by (and influence) their fellow teachers within the school. At a critical moment, inertia threatens.

The "Evaluation, Planning, and Progress Report" on the initial year of the project was done by the project staff. This report, dated October 30, 1973, outlines in detail the evaluation procedures to be followed in assessing the achievement of the three (SEA suggested) objectives, that is, improved student self-concept, decrease in number and severity of behavior problems, and increase in reading growth rate. In their "Application for Continuation," dated April 30, 1974, data are presented to show that these three objectives are being met. However, in a "horn tooting" section that follows on the heels of this formal evaluation data, the staff presents a listing of "proud happenings" that may better represent its view of what the project is all about. These proud happenings deal largely with interpersonal and instructional changes that have occurred in the system as a result of the project. They mention, for example, that "warm fuzzies" (mythical rewards) are now exchanged by teachers and students in one of the schools and that a certain class has initiated a fund-raising drive to continue a project-initiated activity. In the final proud happening, surprised delight is expressed over the increase in target group students' reading scores. It appears plain that emphasis on improved reading performance was not one of the priority objectives of the project.

Complexity of Project. This project was never very complex. Essentially the notion was to have teachers complete one or more self-paced kits with the hope that changes in teaching methods would result. Since the kits are independent

of one another, the only contingency in the program was having volunteers to undertake completion of these kits. Teachers could take as much time as necessary to complete a kit. Although cooperation (endorsement) by various factions within the school system is desirable, it is not essential to the project's functioning. Rather, the cooperation of individuals and their willingness to become involved in the project seem vital.

Amount of Change. Since the project focuses on individual teacher change, it is difficult to estimate the amount of change that must occur within a school for the project to be successful. There is an incremental change to be expected as more and more teachers within a school undergo training. As more teachers change and encourage and convince their peers that the training and resultant change is worthwhile, the project will continue to progress. It seems possible that once the trainees become the majority group in a school, most of the remaining teachers will undertake the training.

Site of Change. The primary locus of change is the district itself, but dissemination of the project's activities has already begun through news releases and staff presentations before college groups and PTAs. It seems clear that the project staff wishes the impact of its work to be felt outside of the district.

Organizational and Personal Characteristics

Bureaucracy. The organizational hierarchy of the district manifests an almost feudal (manorial) aura. The superintendent often drives from school to school hand-delivering salary checks and a pep talk to individual teachers. Not incidentally, the teachers come quickly to recognize the hand that feeds them. There seems to be little administrative turnover. (The high school principal is in his 15th year, and the superintendent has held his job for as long as almost everyone can remember.) Decisions within the system are made and accepted with little (or no) static. Each layer in the hierarchy seems to accept the right of higher-ups to make decisions. There is a great deal of informal contact among the staff at parties, excursions, etc. Administrators and teachers often meet together at these affairs with no evidence of personal or professional differences. There seems very little tension in the district over philosophical beliefs or professional roles. (Note that everyone seems to take it for granted that the nonpublic schools may have free access to the district's materials, meetings, training, etc.) As a result, matters proceed smoothly, and under such circumstances, sitting still in the boat is a valued activity. There does not have to be a great deal of flexibility

in the operating procedures, since most decisions of a "yes-no" nature are based on precedent. Even the high school "Deficiency Report" (a notice to parents that a student is in danger of failing) may be completed with a series of checkmarks in the appropriate boxes. In Lewison, there is, however, a decidedly small-town cliquishness. A trainer, for example, had been made to feel that she was an "outsider" because she had lived in Lewison for only five years even though she was born and raised in another small town only five minutes' drive from Lewison.

Communication. There is a good deal of informal communication within the system. Teachers and principals frequently golf together and meet at parties. Obviously, this informal communications network can work toward the success or failure of any innovation introduced in the district. Informal sanctioning of an innovation will be helpful; informal indifference or ridicule will be harmful. In fact, in the case of the current project, it would appear that the informal communication networks in the district have had most to do with the project's relative impact.

Decisional Participation. The decisions about the project have been made by the project staff (by the project director) with little interference (or help) from anyone within the district. As mentioned earlier, the SEA had some control over what the "official" goals of the project would be, but these goals are recognized with a wink and a nod and an almost audible "But seriously, folks...." As long as the status quo is not seriously threatened, the project staff appears free to plan, modify, allocate resources, and evaluate.

Propensity To Innovate. If innovation equals accommodation (simplification), the project itself has been innovated (renovated) during its lifetime. However, there seems little impetus toward innovation in the district outside of the project itself.

There are, of course, teachers in the district interested in innovation. In fact, several of the teachers contacted talked of changes they had made (or planned) before contact with the project. The impetus toward this desire to change came from formal training (both undergraduate and graduate) and from interpersonal contacts among the staff (discussions of new teaching techniques in the faculty lounge or at social activities outside of the school). However, changes tended to be localized in a classroom or two, since there was an absence of a formal mechanism in the district to disseminate change information. Furthermore, it appears that localized, incremental change could be attempted by teachers and tolerated by the system on an informal basis, while broad-range, formalized

change would be likely to meet resistance. (Informal change can go unnoticed; formal change requires somebody's approval. Formal change, therefore, asks people to "take sides," an unwelcome activity in a system where good fellowship abounds.) It seems unlikely, therefore, that the system would actively seek out a project that promised a big payoff (broad-range, formal sanction necessary) but with a low (or even medium) success probability.

Ancillary Effects. The two in-service specialists (who were formerly teachers of gifted children in 5th and 6th grades) and the evaluation specialist (formerly a guidance counselor) received salaries substantially higher than the maximum teacher salary in the district, which is about $14,000. It seems safe to conclude that the project was financially attractive to these three staff members. In the case of the project director (formerly the curriculum coordinator), the monetary attraction of the project seems less clear. However, the project director may have had other motivations for his extensive involvement in the project. (See below.) From the standpoint of the teacher trainees, the project offered little financial attraction. In fact, a few of the trainees indicated that they had been unaware that any stipend had been attached to the training, which they had to undertake on their free time.

From the point of view of status enhancement, the effect of the project is multidimensional. For the three project staff members, the project had the effect of getting them "out of the trenches," an outcome devoutly to be wished. (There were many volunteers for the three positions.)

For the project director, who, after all, was not in the trenches to begin with, the choice of leaving the secure position of curriculum coordinator for the necessarily temporary position of project director provokes thought. Perhaps for him the position of curriculum coordinator was too secure, in the sense that upward mobility within the system seemed improbable. Career advancement is tied to increased visibility outside the system, which his position in the project could provide. It seems likely that his abandonment of his former position (which has since been filled) and his energetic contributions to the project are an attempt to locate employment outside of the system at the project's destined conclusion.

For the trainees in the project, the involvement/status equation is unclear. Whether a trainee is seen as a trailblazer or a Mickey-Mouseketeer is a function of the school in which he works. In certain instances, notably at the high school, involvement in the project is sufficient to have a teacher identified as "one of those."

Administrators. Most administrators in the district are local products, have master's degrees from state universities, and have specialized in education or educational administration. The project director does not differ materially from his peers. However, while most other administrators, who apparently came up through the ranks, seem content in their positions, the project director seems career-bound. He is still young enough to make a major change in employment (i.e., out of state). His concern with the project, apart from the fact that he sees it as a means to a worthwhile end, appears to be that the project will provide a springboard for career advancement. Although he has had some previous experience with funded projects, he does not seem aware of (or concerned with) any policy implications over and above those changes that the project could promote at the district level. His salary is now apparently drawn totally from project funds, and since he has, in effect, moved outside of the district administrative hierarchy because of his project involvement, future promotions within the district seem (by mutual consent of project director and central office) remote. He devotes full-time to the project, and his position when project funds terminate is unclear (at best).

Chief Participants. Like the administrators, the teachers in the system, including the project staff, are local products. Their ages vary, but, all in all, they seem to be tenured and comfortable. Members of the project staff, apart from the project director, seem content in their roles, knowing that they can return to jobs within the system when the project money expires. All of them held positions within the system before the project's arrival, and (with one exception) they volunteered for participation in the project. One dynamic personality (a math teacher) who volunteered for selection to the project staff and was involved in the initial idea for the project, was not selected for participation at the staff level. This person seems to have been excluded from the project staff at the wish of the superintendent, who, despite his studied noncommitment to the project, gives out the stipend checks to those teachers who complete the project training. The superintendent is apparently hedging his bets about the project until such time as its success/failure (acceptance/rejection) becomes apparent. The project staff devotes full-time to the project and their salaries are charged against the project budget. They have had little (or no) experience with other innovative projects and seem unaware that the project has any policy implications outside of the district.

Role Correlates of Teachers. The teachers (trainees) in the project are difficult to characterize. They are, largely, friends and acquaintances of the project staff who agreed to be trained for interpersonal as much as for professional reasons. Trainees are all volunteers and not only dictate the amount of time they devote to the project, but also decide which of the training kits they will complete. Most (if not all) teachers have had little experience with externally funded projects and their salaries are not at all dependent on project involvement. For the most part, the trainees tend to be teaching teachers who see the project as an opportunity to enhance their teaching performance, with little hope of gains in other areas.

There were no paraprofessionals involved in this project.

ORIGINAL IMPLEMENTATION

The goals of the project, as originally conceived, were four:

1. Individualized instruction
2. Active involvement on the part of students
3. Improved classroom process technique
4. Improved student self-concept

These are essentially the goals of the project today, although, at the suggestion of the SEA, the articulated goals of the project deal with such areas as behavior improvement and reading growth.

Consonance

The project's goals are not consonant with those of the district. The district seems to seek serenity and will pay lip service to change, as long as that change does not impinge on the status quo. In other words, the above four goals would be verbally supported by the district if undertaken locally by a teacher or two, but overall district support would be withheld if such goals required formal sanction in the district decision-making process.

Means

The four goals of the project are to be achieved through teacher completion of four kits, each one corresponding to one of the goals. Each kit, prepared by project staff and containing self-paced learning materials, is given to the volunteer

teacher trainee when the teacher agrees to take part in the project. As the teacher completes the kit, he may request an evaluation (a Proficiency Assessment). This PA is carried out by a project staff member and a school principal who certify (or not) that the kit has been "learned" (internalized by the teacher) to the satisfaction of project specifications. If certification is given, the teacher receives a small monetary stipend. If certification is withheld, the teacher may request another PA at a later date. This is the sole treatment involved in the project, although the training may result in changes in classroom organization and the introduction of new materials into the teaching process.

Complexity

The project is not very complex. The treatment is teacher training through the use of kits; the change is to take place in the teachers to the extent outlined in each kit, and the management of the project is under the control of the project director and his staff.

Project Support

The project director was given the permission (but not the support) of the superintendent when he decided to write the original proposal. As the project has progressed, those who withheld initial support have adopted a "wait and see" attitude. At the time of original implementation, the project staff made use of their friendships among the teaching staff to encourage project involvement. During this time, they received no support from the superintendent, who saw the project as a Mickey Mouse activity, or from the administrators, most of whom either saw no real need for the project or felt that stronger discipline was the answer to any problems that the district faced. Only the project director (of all administrative staff) expected any status (permanent or temporary) from the project.

ADAPTATIONS

The real goals and objectives of the project have changed little since its inception. Despite the mandate from the SEA, which specified the formal project objectives to be included (see "Current Operations" above) in the evaluation and application for continuation, the project's real objectives have continued since it was originally conceived. The project has otherwise remained unchanged since it was originally implemented, except that the treatment has been modified in the

second year of the project (1973-74). The original version of the materials had overestimated the competence and motivation of the trainees and took far too long to complete. The replacement versions were as much as 25 percent reduced in content and focused simply on widely shared problems. They also substituted a lot of audiovisual material when they discovered that the teachers didn't like to read.

By and large, most of the organizational and personal characteristics have remained unchanged since the project's outset. There are, however, suggestions of change in the attitude of administrators toward the project. The superintendent, who initially viewed the project very lightly, now speaks of it as "our project." A principal makes it his business to disseminate information about the project to his staff and tacitly approves of project involvement. (However, he makes it clear that he does not officially endorse the project.) (See also under "Current Operations.")

NEAR-TERM BEHAVIORAL CHANGE

Components

The behavioral change required by the project is teacher-, rather than district- or school-, centered. Each teacher affected by the training should be changed individually. Teaching/learning changes do occur, but in a variety of methodologies and contexts, so it is difficult to attribute the changes to the project in any uniform way. Everyone trained by the project should manifest new teaching skills in order to "pass" the Proficiency Assessment, but, since there are four different training kits, changes in individual teachers are difficult to compare. Similarly, since the undertaking of the training kits is voluntary, and since the kits are self-pacing, the effect of the training on any teacher at any point in time is difficult to assess.

Still, the project seems to have made significant progress especially in the elementary schools. The school that the project staff points to with pride is indeed an amazing and spontaneous display of much of the best available teaching/learning techniques. The faculty of that school seems to have been more profoundly and uniformly affected than any other school visited in the course of this study. And the teachers all described how far they had come from a punitive, teacher-talk, content-focused model to where they were currently. The school was almost literally turned around.

Lewison is anti-noise and pro-paddle. It is a school system where some principals still proudly display their paddle collections behind their desks (often bestowed by local civic groups). When there is neighborhood pressure over discipline, it occurs because teachers are stopping fights that parents believe should be allowed to run their course. These are parents whose own education stopped at elementary school, who have had to fight for anything they have achieved, and who do not want their children turned into sissies.

In that context, the shift to positive reinforcement and affective, child-centered, behavior modifications is a radical departure. Yet that is exactly what has happened in the project's most successful instances. Four male 6th grade teachers knew that the unofficial but unmistakable central office word for the project was "Mickey Mouse" but they agreed to do a kit as a favor to the project director. One had been teaching for ten years according to the traditional "bust-heads" approach to discipline, even though those practices left him upset and frustrated at the end of the day.

This teacher's experience with the initial kit (self-concept) changed his teaching style almost totally. He has gone from material token economies to symbolic tokens in part because he does not wish to reinforce the materialism of parents and in part because he wants to socialize and internalize the reward schedule. His 6th grade kids now enthusiastically confer "warm fuzzies" on each other, a sort of mythical blanket of approval that the recipients accept with dramatic gestures. While being interviewed, the teacher encountered a fight in the hallway, separated the combatants by physically hugging them to his sides, told them he could see how upset they were, encouraged them to go away to determine the nature of their differences and then seek him out later in the day to talk over those differences and see "what they should do."

Other evidence of the impact of the project is the fact that there is now some peer teaching among teachers, and a series of teacher-led institutes has been established.

Changes in Kids

Although the SEA-suggested objectives talk about changes in the target group kids' self-concept, behavior, and reading ability, the true objectives of the project are staff-related, with the effect on the kids contingent on these changes. Obviously, a change in the teacher (in an area such as active involvement) must have a student component, but the effect on the kids is a secondary result.

Value to Administrators

Apart from the possible career advancement aspect of the project, from the project director's point of view, the project held little value for administrators. Of course, by playing his "wait-and-see" role, the superintendent (and, therefore, the principals) could gain if the project were a demonstrable success. He could then point with pride to "our" project. Whether or not the administrators (including the project director) would undertake a similar project is contingent on their experience with this one. Currently, the project is not a priority item on the administrative agenda. Administrative commendation (apart from the project director's understandable enthusiasm) has been withheld until very recently.

Unanticipated Consequences

The consequences of the project for the district and for personnel involved in the project are difficult to assess at this time. For the project director, it appears that his bridges are alight. Like other administrators in the district, he must await the future outcomes of the project before making any further moves. Staff division into "we-they" factions over the project seems to be the sole negative effect that the project has had, but one gets the feeling that the project has not aggravated any factionalism that did not exist before the project's arrival. In fact, from the point of view of the entire system, the project's effect on staff relations, etc., seems inconsequential.

Project Techniques and Strategy

In this project, most of the resource-consuming jobs have already been completed. The training kits have been completed; the audiovisual equipment has been purchased; the evaluation strategies have been perfected. It is entirely possible, therefore, that the project can continue to function (with minimal cost to the district) after the project funds run out. But every change process needs an advocate. The advocates of this project are the project staff, who seem even now stymied as to how to involve additional personnel in the training (having all but exhausted their personal contacts). When the funding expires, the project specialists seem destined to revert to their former positions. The project director, having crossed his personal Rubicon, has his own future to decide. In the absence of advocacy, further spread of the project appears doubtful once outside funding disappears. However, should the project prove itself worthwhile enough to engender strong within-system

support, this entire picture could change. Administrators (and teachers) in the district are, after all, acute enough to recognize a bandwagon when they see one and are agile enough to not only jump aboard, but also to claim that they helped build it.

CONTINUATION

There are several factors that suggest a hopeful prospect for continuation in Lewison. In the first place, the project has already made a substantial impact on as many as one-quarter of the system's staff. These people are unlikely to revert to their former teaching practices. Moreover, there is some evidence that they will work to diffuse their practices to their peers. For example, teacher-organized and -led institutes are already operating.

The second strong indication for continuation lies in the fact that the treatment is mainly print and audiovisual. There has been very little direct contact between the trainers and the trainees (for which the project has been criticized). But the project materials are already produced and durable, and the project has not relied for its successes to date on personal interaction, so the absence or radical diminution of the training staff may not make much difference. One of the parochial schools, for example, is planning to completely transform the pedagogy of its six teachers using only the kits that will be available from the project.

The district's top management, after two years of studied indifference, is now considering replacing the stipends that have been paid by project funds for kit completion with salary schedule credits for the same work. Another clue in the headquarters is the SEA requirement for teacher competencies. Since the project's staff and experience have been instrumental in the development of Lewison's stated competencies for teacher performance, these bureaucratic criteria may provide a useful hedge against backsliding and perhaps even a modest incentive for continuation.

Finally, as the baby boom passes through the high school, and as the project staff runs out of amenable friends and neighbors to enlist, the project may find that it has the resources and the high school has the inclination to adopt some more modern techniques.

DISSEMINATION/DIFFUSION

Information about the project's activities has been widely distributed despite the SEA requirement that no request for information can be filled without its prior approval. (In fact, the SEA looks the other way while Lewison gets the word out.) There have been news releases to various newspapers, informational presentations by project staff before a variety of concerned groups, regular meetings with district staff, presentations by teacher trainees before the district staff, and several audiovisual materials prepared that highlight the project's activities. In addition, newsletters have been distributed to over fifty neighboring school districts. Excerpts from the kits themselves have been similarly distributed. Plans for future dissemination, which include publication of the project's activities in educational journals, are currently being considered.

DODSON

Dale Mann, assisted by Lawrence McCluskey

INITIATION

The Dodson Public School System serves a southwestern American city that is one of the largest in the country. Dodson's population is 40 percent black, 40 percent Anglo, and 20 percent Chicano. Many problems commonly associated with urban education are reflected in the Dodson school system and magnified through the state and regional culture of the area.

Why Initiate?

In 1970, the U.S. Civil Rights Commission withheld several million dollars in federal funds until the Dodson school system could assure the Commission that it was eliminating "labels" for children and the practice of isolating children with various sorts of handicaps in special classrooms. The state legislature also mandated a "dynamic new delivery system in special education, capable of providing comprehensive services to every handicapped boy and girl in the state." A major component of this program was the reintroduction of handicapped children into the regular classrooms, with the addition of some individualized instruction. At about the same time, a liberal board of education was voted into office in a distinct (and short-lived) departure from the traditional conservative Anglo domination of Dodson political life. The liberal board then went outside the system, outside the state, and outside the region to find a superintendent who would move actively to change the Dodson schools.

The New Superintendent

The new superintendent seized on the special education area as his best chance for substantial change. First, the change could be attributed to outside forces (the federal and state governments) and not directly to the superintendent. (In a political culture as conservative as Dodson's, it is important not to be personally identified with change.) Second, the headquarters bureaucracy in charge of special education was much smaller and more vulnerable than the entrenched and powerful regular education department, so that although most of the project personnel intended to affect the whole schooling system, a direct confrontation could be avoided. It was also thought originally that there could be very little resistance to a goal as praiseworthy as individualizing instruction. Finally, of course, the availability of

substantial categorical dollars for the handicapped recommended the area as a good target of opportunity. Thus, the impetus for the project came from the top levels of the school bureaucracy, and not from the classrooms or individual buildings and not from the bureaucratic establishment.

The superintendent chose another outsider to lead the special education effort. He selected as assistant superintendent a former professor of special education administration, who had most recently been active in the design and implementation of a teacher retraining program in a smaller city. When he was recruited to Dodson, the assistant superintendent built on that previous experience, although the idea itself was totally new to the Dodson schools. During the first year, he brought in a new Ph.D. in psychology from the state university to head the project.

The Proposal

The entire project (federal costs are about $400,000 per year) is funded by both EPDA* and ESEA** Title III (as a federally directed project). The project's first year was sponsored entirely by EPDA. During that year, the Office of Education let Dodson officials know that succeeding years of the project would be funded jointly by Title III and EPDA. Thus, the initial proposal for Title III was a continuation and extension effort. It was written by the newly hired project director with the principal assistance of some teachers and a few administrators. (Parents, association representatives, and OE personnel reviewed it.) Given the size of the district, the unfamiliarity of the new project director with district personnel, and the short period of time available for its development, the relatively small number of people involved in the proposal stage seems understandable. It follows that very few of the thousands of teachers who have been trained had been participants in any part of the proposal process. The project director was somewhat hampered by the lack of coordination between the EPDA and ESEA funding sources and by the apprehensions of Dodson administrators about commingling funds even where the grant purposes were virtually identical.

*Education Professions Development Act.

**Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

Site Selection

The project needed 85 schools in which to begin the teacher training. Dodson's area superintendents were asked to designate the first group, which turned out to overrepresent the black and Chicano population. Beyond that, site selection according to preplanned criteria was not compatible with the Dodson strategy. First, the project's implicit agenda was to transform substantially all or most Dodson schools. Second, the project administrators believed that handicapped children (whether or not they had been diagnosed as such) existed in all schools. Third, their intention was to prepare "mainstream" classrooms to work with handicapped children. Any "mainstream" school would be about as valuable as any other (as long, of course, as the school "volunteered").

The criteria used to select the model schools, that is, those schools that would be used for demonstration teaching sites, included kind of pupil population, geographic access, and attitude toward the program.

Support/Opposition

Support for the program's initiation came from the superintendent and also from the board. Some Dodson do-good groups (the League of Women Voters, etc.) supported the program. At the outset however, the program encountered opposition at several levels. First, the department of regular education viewed the department of special education's overture to the "mainstream" as poaching. Second, the area superintendents, although not an active management level in Dodson, resented "interference" with "their" schools. Third, some of the participating principals were apprehensive about the disruption that teacher absences for extended training sessions might cause. Nonparticipating principals were skeptical of anything new. Most teachers thought that accepting responsibility for handicapped childrer in regular classes was unfair (to the teachers) and that individualizing instruction was unrealistic with normal classes and impossible when handicapped children were included. Many parents felt that the time and effort spent on the "crazy kids" would come at the expense of their own children.

Adoption Process

There are obvious elements of the Problem Solving/R&D model in the Dodson process. The system's concentration on special education was a clear response to federal and state pressure (some project materials listed the absence of parent

suits against the board as a project accomplishment). Especially in light of the comprehensive and complicated nature of the project design, it reflects a needs assessment, goal setting, alternatives consideration, etc. process even though that process was more immanent in its top personnel than manifest in project records. (A similar point could be made about the "linkage" model.)

It should be noted that the R&D process model really is an artifact in describing the Dodson change process. Here, as in many other cities, the idea of change, which is held in such esteem by federal education officials, is in fact a handicapping label. Teachers and principals steadfastly maintain that the project techniques are not much more than what they were doing all along. The system tried hard to make the changes seem only incremental and the SEA's material tried hard to reassure everyone that it was nothing new. Project officials, of course, knew better. (Whether or not the amount of change realized was dampened by the sugar coat needs to be determined.)

To a lesser extent, the process looks like an opportunistic response to available money. The State Education Agency mandate had a carrot in the form of state aid to handicapped students; the funded EPDA grant provided a base for the solicited Title III grant. In Dodson, as in other large systems, the schools' needs are stored in a bottomless pit and pulled out whenever a funding source appears.

None of this detracts from the dedication that those responsible for the project brought to the task of improving the Dodson schools. The schools needed the project's efforts, and the city's handicapped children needed even more attention. The project was as much a response to that as to the factors described above.

Baseline Characteristics

Dodson sprawls. The enrollment of a quarter of a million children (33,000 of whom formally qualify for special education) is spread over an enormous geographic area. This is partly because the land (without competing uses) was available and partly because Dodson residents believe that land-use zoning infringes their natural rights.

There are 240 schools staffed by 11,000 teachers (800 are special education teachers) and directed by 500 administrators. The federal courts required that the Anglo/black/Chicano characteristics of the teaching faculty be the same in all schools, which the central administration achieved by moving quickly and decisively. When, however, the courts attempted to require racial integration of the pupils, the school board went back to the court to argue that, for purposes of the law,

Dodson's 20-percent Chicano minority was Caucasian. The courts agreed, and Dodson now integrates its schools by bussing blacks and Chicanos and leaving most of the 40-percent Anglo population undisturbed. Per pupil expenditure (1973) is $629, to which federal aid adds another $45. Thirty-eight percent of all children who enter Dodson schools fail to graduate. Staff patterns in Dodson are unexceptional except for the nearly total absence of assertive teacher organizations. (This situation may, however, change in the near future since the city is high on a target list for organizing efforts by the American Federation of Teachers.)

CURRENT OPERATIONS

Project Characteristics

Goals and Objectives. The two key people in this project are the assistant superintendent and the project director. Both believe that to be effective, change must occur within the entire system. Thus, not only do they resist discussing the teacher retraining effort as a separate component of the special education department, but they have also left any "handicapped" or "special" designation off of the title of their primary training site, the Teacher Development Center.

Because of the extent to which the federally supported teacher retraining activities were integrated into a wide variety of similar or supportive activities, it is difficult and a little unrealistic to talk about discrete goals for this project. In addition, the project's managers went to great lengths to provide behavioral specifications of goals and objectives for each component, each activity, each class of participants, each beneficiary, and each phase of all the foregoing. Putting all of this aside for the moment, the current operational goals of the project (as stated in the continuation application) are

1. To individualize instruction.
2. To differentiate the instructional services of the system's special education teachers.

To individualize instruction among the regular teachers and to differentiate the services of special education teachers, the project created a number of physical centers, procedures, and materials, which are discussed below. All were designed to increase the achievement of the following objectives (which would in turn contribute to the goals above):

1. To communicate to special education teachers the necessary skills to facilitate the integration of handicapped children into regular classes,

including, where necessary, direct assistance with regular classroom instruction. (It is characteristic of this project that a specific objective that the Feds might treat as the project's primary purpose – one that is featured prominently in the proposals – is subordinated to a more general goal of individualizing instruction. Project leaders, of course, maintain that this subordinate objective cannot be achieved unless, and until, their overall goal is achieved.)

2. To expose all teachers going through in-service training to the kind of individualized, behaviorally oriented teaching techniques that they would subsequently be expected to adopt.
3. To develop new training materials to support the changed teaching behavior during the training activity and between training experiences.
4. To encourage administrative support for the new teacher roles.

Goal Centrality and Consonance. Instructional innovation is not a widely shared goal in Dodson. Neither is the differentiation of instruction to meet the special needs of any group that departs from the mainstream Anglo norm. The central purpose of the schools in Dodson is to maintain the status quo. The benefits of the status quo do not extend to the 40 percent of the population that is black, or the 20 percent that is Chicano. These groups have not been effectively mobilized; life on "the plantation" (as many refer to it) is quiet; and the system's central goal is to maintain the quiet. Teaching practices in Dodson are still characterized by large-group, "teacher-talk" instruction punctuated with negative feedback and some corporal punishment. In that context, the individualization of instruction was a central goal only for the relatively small cadres associated with the project.

With respect to consonance, the standard operating procedure for Dodson teachers faced with departures from the norm of student passivity has been to remove the offending student from the classroom. Thus, students with handicaps were identified informally, tested, diagnosed, removed, and isolated – a procedure that appeals to most teachers since it superficially simplifies their classroom management. Although the system had always given lip service to educational services for the handicapped, these services were largely custodial and distinctly separate from the mainstream.

Teacher Training. There are four major components of the teacher retraining effort: (1) 4 Teacher Development Centers where teachers are assigned for their in-service experience; (2) 6 Learning Resource Centers, one in each decentralized management area, where supporting services are concentrated; (3) Precision Learning Centers, which are in-school, specially equipped, and staffed in each of the 140 elementary schools where some of the building faculty have been trained; and (4) 6 Area Resource Teams composed of personnel drawn from the former special education operation.

The purpose of the Teacher Development Centers (TDCs) is to train teachers with model procedures, which it is hoped they will emulate in the classroom. The primary training sites are three classrooms set aside for training sessions in three operating elementary schools. Part of the intention is to provide a credible model, but the presence of more than usual paraprofessional assistance in model classrooms has been a recurring bone of contention. The model classrooms or TDC sites have a variety of functionally specialized areas for video tape, reading, art, discussions, games, etc.

Teachers who volunteer or who are volunteered for training receive separate packages of instructional materials before, during, and after their stays at the TDCs. Several weeks before they are scheduled for their first week of training, designated trainees receive an "Advanced Organizer," which has several purposes. First, it is an attempt to create a felt need for new practices in the prospective trainee by pointing out the consequences of the prevailing Dodson teaching practices. Second, the Advanced Organizer begins to expose the trainee to some alternate, more behaviorally indicated procedures. Third, completion of the materials in the Advanced Organizer provides the TDC training staff with an assessment of the training needs of each individual.

The TDC-centered training consists of two cycles: an initial week-long experience, a return to the classroom where the trainee is visited intermittently by the project's field support staff, and a second three-day follow-up stay at the TDC.

One of the things that the project staff wishes to communicate to the trainees is that there is a variety of ways in which instruction can be managed. Therefore, the first day of the training session is organized around the most traditional instructional management format. It is conducted in group lectures (the teacher stands and talks, and the students are supposed to sit and listen) and at a pace determined by the teacher's convenience. As teachers become more and more

alienated by the minor irrational dictates of the situation, it is hoped that they will also become more aware of their own similar teaching inadequacies. Other instructional management styles (or "contingency management techniques" as they are sometimes called) include small homogeneous group instruction, diagnostic-prescriptive teaching, and individualized instruction. Management styles without content for the instruction would be rather empty. The training also intends to communicate an amount of substance about pedagogy itself. This body of knowledge is organized into 17 "Behavioral Skills Labs." Mastery of these labs is intended to provide the trainee with a repertoire of discrete techniques, such as the analysis of different types of reinforcements, learning contracts, indirect rewards, behavioral objectives, design and management of the physical aspects of the learning environment, etc. Again, different instructional management systems are employed for different labs. The labs themselves are in fact packets of instructional materials that can be completed either in the TDC or independently. Predictably, each packet comes equipped with elaborately specified behavioral objectives and self-pacing and self-assessment procedures.

In addition, the project provides assistance to the trainees when they are in their regular teaching assignments. A number of support personnel are available to teachers (initially on a scheduled visit basis initiated by the support person but more recently on a teacher-trainee request basis). Each teacher also receives something called "Keeping-in-Touch" or, inevitably, "kit."

There are four kits, each organized around what the project staff believes to be one of the pivotal points of the teaching/learning process: learning environment, learning rate, learning style, and learning content. The four kits include activity schedules, cassette and audiovisual tapes, article reprints, exemplary activity descriptions from other teachers, activity work sheets, problem-solving exercises, review notes, books, wrist counters, chart paper (the techniques of behavior modification pervade this project), and "bonus passes." A "bonus pass" is a not-so-subtle reinforcer that the trainee who has successfully completed a training activity (or who needs time to complete an activity) can use to buy relief from his or her regular teaching duties. The time purchased can be used for any project-related purpose. The project staff has recently given principals the stock of bonus passes to increase the principal's control over (and it is hoped cooperation with) project activities.

The end of this entire sequence of interventions is a "second cycle" return visit by the teachers to the TDC. This visit need not necessarily be preceded by completion of the entire training program. The second cycle aims to consolidate,

stabilize, and extend the skills acquired to that point. The trainees are expected to be self-critical about their own training experience.

This summary of one central aspect of the project, the TDC, is an excellent example of the complexity and ambition of this staff development project. The assistant superintendent's dog-and-pony presentation of the whole Dodson retraining effort depended on a slide carousel to cue his attention to the different major components of the project. The project director's behavioral orientation permeates the project, and he participated in the genesis and production of many of the components. And yet, even the project director occasionally gets lost in describing the components, phases, sequences, materials, objectives, results, etc. of this enormously complicated activity. (One question this raises is a comparison between this incredibly complex effort and other more costly but also less complex efforts. Which is more effective?)

Mercifully, the second and third major structural aspects of the project can be briefly described. Each school that has handicapped children and that has, or will have, some of its staff trained, has an area called a "Precision Learning Center" (PLC). There are 140 PLCs among the 240 Dodson public schools. (Since the SEA required that the handicapped program be implemented in only 104 schools, and since the project has already established 140 PLCs, the extent to which the project's real agenda exceeds the handicapped kids' target group is apparent.) The PLCs are usually elementary school libraries or other classrooms that have been converted to project-supporting activities. They are intended to be models of individualized instruction and have within them almost the whole galaxy of new teaching technologies.

The centers serve another purpose as well. Accommodating a handicapped child within the regular classroom runs counter to the traditional and easier "solution" of expelling such children from regular classes. Enough Dodson teachers persisted in their preference for the old "diagnose-and-dump" procedure to force creation of the PLCs as places where, if even for a part of the day, handicapped children can be concentrated. The project leaders would have preferred that <u>all</u> of their specialized instructional staff's efforts be concentrated in the classroom since over the long haul that would have increased the coping level of all teachers--the PLCs represent something of a compromise with that ideal.

The "Learning Resource Centers" are essentially concentrations of material and supporting services for participating teachers. There is a learning resource center for each decentralized area. The center personnel include former

specialists in the education of the handicapped who have now been "differentiated" into traveling teams of consultants.

The next component of the scheme is an "Area Resource Team." Before the initiation of this project, the Dodson schools had had the usual complement of highly specialized people who dealt with testing, measuring, diagnosing, and prescribing for the handicapped. Each group maintained that their specialized function (testing or curriculum development, for example) was best provided on a city-wide basis. The result was a congenial collection of headquarters professionals who passed the kids from specialty to specialty. Since the project intended a radical decentralization of services to the level of Dodson's 10,000 classrooms, the specialists had to be more closely integrated with the field. In the face of considerable resistance, the groups of headquarters specialists were reorganized into teams, each of which would make available to six to eight schools the services of a diagnostic counselor, a psychologist, a learning disability consultant, etc.

The final component of the program's current operation is the cadre of "consulting teachers." Consulting teachers function as master or demonstration teachers. One sort of consulting teacher is the former special service teacher, now a member of an area resource team. Another sort of consulting teacher is the classroom teacher who has successfully completed the project's two-cycle training experience and who is now identified as an appropriate school-based role model for other teachers, who may request the teacher's assistance or observe the teacher's classroom.

The foregoing description is a highly compressed version of reality. Reality has to do with scores of staff people, thousands of trainees, boxes of materials, tapes, slides, forms, and cookbooks, and some elaborate schedules for team and other resources. A good deal of the bulk of the project can be attributed to the large size of Dodson. But the rest is due to the zeal of the project personnel. A few numbers may help. Program participants include 350 consulting teachers, more than 100 librarians, 50 reading specialists, and 50 diagnostic teachers. The total number of consumer-contact hours at the TDCs alone over the 1971-74 period was in excess of a half million.

Materials. Although project personnel were aware of what was available commercially, most materials appear to have been produced specifically for project use. Given Dodson xenophobia, this is probably a wise course. Certainly those who have participated in the development of the materials have had the project's techniques more clearly implanted than might otherwise have been the case. The final factor recommending the internal development process is a political one.

The testing, training, in-servicing, and placement procedures that the project sought to replace were the objects of considerable loyalty and support, especially among the professionals responsible for their use. Replacing them with materials that were also generated in Dodson may have lessened the shock (especially where the professionals participated in writing the new materials) and eased the transition to the new procedures.

The question of comparative values among the various major uses for federal money always evoked a clear response--developing staff (i.e., changing the behavior of existing people) is Dodson's big need. The small group of people who set out to make a difference in Dodson clearly chose the staff development route to that purpose. In many ways, their task is not dissimilar to that of the Feds. Within the staff development technique, however, it is also possible to derive a utility ranking. A project of this magnitude had to work through existing personnel who were re trained and reoriented in the professional roles. These people, who then became trainers of others, have probably been the most thoroughly and durably transformed (see below under "Continuation"). The use of federal money to hire additional personnel is, however, very questionable in this instance. A few of the present staff will probably not be retained on district funds when the project ends; most will be, but they are also quite likely to have their jobs changed by the district. Thus, the artifacts of the project--the workbooks, schedules, kits, labs, written techniques and protocols, slides, and all the rest of the project's paraphernalia--are very likely to persist and to be used (and misused) over the next several years.

Management. This project was an attempt to make large-scale, fairly radical changes in the schools of a large city. Of the interest groups that could have been expected to play a part in the project's management, one traditional actor was missing and one new actor was present. There is no effective teacher organization in Dodson. Teachers could, of course, as individuals affect the success of the project simply by their passivity, exit, or noncompliance, but the project designers did not have to be preoccupied with union regulations and contract conditions. The unpredicted force was that of the school board. Dodson's board has a venerable tradition of running the schools. Board members are in the building constantly. They reach down into personnel assignments and reassignments (especially in exiling headquarters dissidents to hardship schools on the outskirts). And, in the case of this program, they left their mark on individual undertakings. Being aware of the board's involvement, the assistant superintendent made clear his intentions to shake up the system before accepting the post. The liberal board

agreed that moves as vigorous as those contemplated by the project would cause problems, but pledged its support. Electoral fates change, and the newly re-established conservative board has begun a headquarters reorganization. Titles have been removed or abolished, offices have been reorganized out of existence, policies have been rescinded, some people have been commended for their work, others have been left to dangle.

The school principals are extremely sensitive to such changes. When the project was initiated, they had, for the most part, adopted a wait-and-see attitude. Two decades of service in a school several miles and layers removed from headquarters encourages a certain detached, placid bemusement about superintendents who come and go, projects that flourish and die, boards that turn over periodically, and practically everything else. The area superintendents provided additional insulation. They believed that they, and not the new group at headquarters, should control the services provided to the schools in their area. A few of the six area superintendents supported the program, but most were indifferent. When principals looked for signals about how seriously to comply with the unfamiliar new procedures, the indifference of their immediate supervisors was crucial. A few area superintendents have actively opposed the program, going into schools and even classrooms to point out that the noise level associated with individualization is "chaos," and that carpet squares "breed vermin."

The influence of the area superintendents over the fate of the program is less than that of the individual principal. Although trainees are ostensibly volunteers, many of them are volunteered for the experience by their principals. The project leadership had wanted to work initially with a population of those teachers who were most receptive to the project's behavioral technology, yet many principals sent teachers who were their favorite disciplinarians (quiet rooms are the summum bonum of Dodson) or their worst teachers. Some of the primary grade teachers could not read the training materials. The fate of a group of teachers returning from the TDC rests largely on the principal's reception. If the principal does not modify his or her evaluation standards, and if the principal does not support the teacher in enacting a distinct departure from the school's norm, it is extremely difficult for the teacher to sustain the new techniques. Other less subtle opportunities for influence over the program's management at the school delivery level include pupil placement (a dissenting teacher can always be swamped with all of the school's "problem" children), room assignments (one group of teachers who

wanted to team teach was exiled to temporary wooden buildings that were separated from the rest of the school and were referred to as "the shacks" by other teachers) and extra duties.

At the headquarters level, the project remains in the control of the small group of outsiders who were brought in to effect change in the schools, although the new conservative board is gearing up to reassert itself. Most planning and resource allocation decisions seem to have been made informally, with some consultation with lower level staff, and with a degree of responsiveness to principals and teachers.

Evaluation. There is an extensive summative evaluation component to the program. The evaluation uses pre- and post-tests and control groups. There is some evidence that the evaluation results have affected the operation of the project, changing materials that did not communicate to the trainees, rescheduling activities, etc.

Complexity. This is far and away the most complex project considered in our field work. The cooperation required among different units, the length and sequencing of the causal chains, the multi-media methods, the multiple modalities of the training--all are extraordinarily complicated.

Amount of Change. This project set out to transform teaching practices in Dodson. The intended changes were not marginal--they were profound and extensive. As described earlier, the prevailing pedagogy of Dodson can be roughly characterized as prewar (World War II). The nearly unanimous stress on quiet, disciplined, teacher-centered classes was remarkable. In a school where 95 percent of the children were black, all but one of the pictures on the walls and in the classrooms were Norman Rockwell white Middle America and Gainsborough's "Pinkie" and "Blue Boy." The single exception was a picture from a Seagram's calendar circa 1950 that featured two racist stereotyped, grinning, wide-eyed black children. Black racial identity, pride, or consciousness was simply beyond the ken of the white principal, who constantly stressed the need that "these children" have for discipline and order. Other principals had administered "reading readiness" tests in the first grade, grouped the children homogeneously according to the results, and then promoted the groups intact through the next several grades with no qualms about having permanently and prematurely tracked their students. The constant directives from headquarters that stress penmanship, uniform curriculum coverage, and standardized tests reinforce the conservative pedagogy.

Moving this system to an emphasis on behavior modification is a profound change and one that skips a whole generation of innovations (e.g., nongraded

classes, the New Math, and several reading curricula). Thus, radical change would be necessary to have (1) heterogeneous classes, including handicapped children; (2) individualized instruction; and (3) a behaviorally recommended pedagogy.

Extent of Change. Dodson provided vivid evidence on the "critical mass" question. The typical training procedure was to remove groups of 5 to 8 teachers from a school and work with them in the TDC. Given ordinary attrition and resistance, the training would significantly affect only a few of a group that size. These few would then be reinserted in a social system where successful implementation of the project's techniques would immediately identify them as show-offs and rate-busters. Without either significant mutual support or encouragement or protection from the principal, the deviating teachers would either readopt the conservative norm or become ostracized and isolated. Since the project, in its three demonstration schools, also trained 100 percent of the staff at the same time, a limited comparison is possible. Even discounting Hawthorne effects from the demonstration status, the change elicited in those three schools seems more far reaching and more durable. Thus, the project as a whole seems to be falling short of the critical mass at the individual school. We don't know what the critical mass may be for a system like Dodson, as a whole. The scale may be so large as to preclude in practice any but incremental changes. However, when measured against the project's more limited but formal goal of affecting special education, it seems clear that since services were concentrated on blanket coverage of that group ("a cascade," in the words of one of the project leaders) the critical mass was achieved.

(This leaves open the question of criteria. Any amount of change in any teacher's performance would be an improvement. Thus, incremental change is "successful" but hardly worth the price.)

Site of Manifest Change. The project took some care to make sure that training sites were realistic approximations of the target classrooms. The tactic was only partially successful since most trainees felt a hiatus between the lavishly equipped, well-prepared, and well-staffed TDC classrooms and their own classrooms.

A few other aspects of the training were more closely keyed in to classroom conditions. Consulting master teachers, for example, would occasionally visit classrooms for observation, demonstration, and coaching.

Organizational and Personal Characteristics

Bureaucracy. The Dodson school district is a big operation and has the top-heavy, unreasonable, and dysfunctional superstructure that characterizes other large systems. A good deal of what is done at the central headquarters level is for the benefit of the central headquarters and does not affect anyone in the field except for harassing the lives of school secretaries. The project has been less plagued by bureaucracy than most, thanks to the ability of the assistant superintendent to support, protect, and exempt the project director and the project itself from unreasonable procedural wrangles. Even so, bureaucratic cross-purposes are still much in evidence. The regular education people, for example, require teachers to be l gally responsible for retaining text materials even when the project wanted teachers to treat these materials as consumable. Evaluations are still conducted according to categories and criteria that have nothing to do with teaching performance and that would, if adhered to, destroy the project's training. Group lesson plans are still required at every level, and even the best teachers and principals dutifully fill out and file totally fictitious reports.

Communications. In a way, the entire project effort represents the attempt of the former superintendent and the assistant superintendent to create and nurture an informal subculture committed to change. Like-minded people, certainly those at the headquarters level, are concentrated in the special education department. They seem to have a relatively effective network operating, which has bypassed the formal chains of command in the Dodson schools. One indication of their success is the displeasure of the area superintendents and the intermittent unhappiness of school principals about having "lost control" of their staffs.

Decision Participation. Most project decisions appear to have been concentrated at the top of the staff.

Capacity To Innovate. We don't know whether or not the Dodson schools have increased their capacity to innovate as a result of this project. Clearly, the project experience has been an education in administering large-scale change for those people most closely associated with it. If, however, that change has been so costly and controversial for the Dodson schools that they discard the project personnel, then the schools aren't likely to pursue further innovations. Given the conservative tendency of the system, that is, of course, exactly the purpose. In fact, it may even be that this project will teach the Dodson schools what its more sophisticated big city colleagues have learned about innovation--how to maintain it as a symbolic

façade while carefully constraining it. Traditional school people in Dodson do not take risks.

Ancillary Effects. The ancillary effects on the project staff have been substantial. The assistant superintendent has had a chance to test probably his entire bag of theories and has had his own career enhanced. The project director's first full-time professional engagement is in this project, and even though his tenure in the district may be short-lived, the experience has given him great visibility, responsibility, and satisfaction. The benefits that have and that will have accrued to the project leadership (in addition, of course, to the satisfaction of having tried to do a much needed task) are undoubtedly substantial enough to balance the risks and the short-term disincentives.

For other project personnel, the picture is less clear. The principals of the demonstration schools know more about their jobs than they did previously, are running improved schools, and have enjoyed their time in the limelight. But they had also reached a career peak as principals, and therefore most of the additional incentives are irrelevant. These incentives are also largely irrelevant to most of the master teachers and other trainers and training support personnel in the project. Most Dodson school people are place-bound and care little about anything other than security. For some of the master teachers or teacher consultants who are reflective about their experience, that leadership role is more trouble than it is worth--it identifies them and separates them from the mainstream culture in their schools. It is significant that consulting teachers work almost exclusively with teachers from outside their own schools. Apparently it is just too painful to ask for assistance from one's own colleagues.

The intrinsic satisfaction of attempting to change a big city school system appears to be substantial, although it is also in proportion to position in the hierarchy. At and near the top, the feelings expressed about the attempt to have transformed Dodson education are reminiscent of the 1967-68 Community Action Programs: Jaundice and cynicism are just beginning to take the edge off of revolutionary and certainly missionary zeal.

Administrative Roles. Both the project director and the assistant superintendent are outsiders with substantial university-based experience, analytic training, and advanced degrees. The backgrounds of both men are clearly and directly related to the project and probably account for a good deal of the ambition and complexity of what was attempted. A former professor of special education administration and a recent psychology Ph.D. would naturally be well-suited to design a behavior

modification project in special education. The project director is about 30 years old, and the assistant superintendent about 10 years older. Neither holds tenure, and neither is especially secure in his job. The project director had, in fact, been elevated to a position of department leader, but the new board removed him from that position and left him with a lower rank. The assistant superintendent had previous experience with a similar effort in a smaller place. Both men are career-bound, demonstrably ambitious, and committed to change in education. While the assistant superintendent may aspire to a major superintendency (or to a department chairmanship in a university), the project director has neither the qualifications nor the inclination for line positions in education. Both were recruited into their positions by their immediate superiors with a chance for a relatively free hand with an impossible task. Both are acutely aware of the policy issues that abound in a project of this sort. The similarity between their concerns and those of the Feds was quite apparent.

The assistant superintendent is now spending probably not more than 10 to 15 percent of his time in Teacher-Center-related activities, and the project director about 50 percent.

There were few surprises among the rest of the staff involved in the project. As a group, the principals represent what one could have predicted from knowledge of the Dodson political and educational culture. The system rewards loyalty, patience, and silence. There is a good deal of "old boy" (or "good-ol' boy") recruitment, more recently leavened by tokenism in the direction of blacks but not yet Chicanos. Most of the principals who elected to take part in the project were drawn by what they saw as extra service from the project, and few were threatened by the possibility that their (mythical) instructional leadership role might be usurped by the project. Since they could easily govern the extent to which teachers returning from the Teacher Development Center "disrupted" the rest of their faculties, the principals were also on the whole mildly--if very mildly--supportive.

The exceptions to the pattern just described seem to be black men and women who are more concerned with the need for change and with the substance of teaching and learning.

The Teachers' Role. This is an elementary-school-focused training program and therefore the trainee population tends to be overwhelmingly female, place-bound, lower middle-class, and complacent with its work. Age, years of experience, tenure, etc. seem not to have made much difference. Visibility, responsibility, ambition, status, and extra money are not significant incentives among this

group. The intrinsic satisfaction of doing an improved job at teaching is an incentive, however. The trainees for whom the project seems to have made a substantial difference shared a recognition that their previous teaching practices were in need of improvement. And, curiously enough, they also tended to report that their previous teaching practices incorporated some of the things that they had learned at the TDC. Either this is simply protective recall (justifying previous inadequacies by reinterpreting them) or it is true and provides a facilitating link between the TDC experience and the new classroom role. Without this link, the TDC training seems unrealistic, radical (not marginal), and unreachable, and is therefore discredited.

A related characteristic shared by the successful trainees is that they felt that they were able to enter the training at a point relevant to the problems that they had personally encountered. They could search among the lab and kit packages until they found something helpful, and this success then provided a powerful incentive to continue. There is, however, conflicting evidence in the interviews. Several of the principals and some of the teachers felt that elementary school teachers need and want to be told what to do. One rationale for having so completely developed the galaxy of training materials was to have available "bolt-on" packages of things for people to do. Thus, some respondents felt that trainees should be told what to do, and others just as vigorously denied that this would work.

Another shared characteristic relates to the amount of work thought to be necessary to implement the change. Teachers for whom the training "worked" admitted how much additional preparation was necessary (and uniformly stressed the need for more help from the central office in terms of prepackaged materials and paraprofessional assistance). Those who had rejected the project's training, or who had only superficially carried out the changes, were also very aware of the extra work involved, especially in the beginning. All the interviewees could relate stories of people who stayed up all night, spent weekends, and devoted summers to preparing for individualized instruction. One principal even complained that the TDC had encouraged her teachers to try too much too quickly, a sentiment that, when it was communicated to the rest of the staff, might well have effectively stifled emulation of the trained teachers.

The final shared characteristic is that of social support for the new teaching procedures. An occasional teacher seems to have been able to operate as a loner, but most teachers needed the encouragement of their car pool, grade-level colleagues, coffee klatch, or principal. Those who did not get this encouragement, or who encountered the opposition of their social circle, did not carry out the project's intent.

The final question here has to do with the volunteer strategy. This project had intended to use volunteers for its initial trainee population for several reasons. In the first place, volunteers would be easier to work with and thus would allow everyone to have some initial success with the techniques and purposes. Second, volunteers would be likely to come to the training experience with some of the techniques mastered. Thus, they would more faithfully replicate and model the trained behaviors to their colleagues in the field. Third, the extent of change from the volunteers would be less apparent and thus less threatening. The training could be done faster, more efficiently, and more faithfully.

On the other hand, the principals' need to control the situation meant that there were very few actual volunteers among the trainees. Teachers felt that selection for the project was simply a "waiting game" and resented the anxiety that that caused.

ORIGINAL IMPLEMENTATION

Goals

The project began with great expectations for the rapid pace of change, the comprehensiveness of the possible changes, the amount of forced pacing that would be possible, and the role that project personnel could play at the classroom level.

Demonstration Schools

During the first year of the project there, three schools had to be transformed and their teachers trained so that these schools could serve as demonstration sites for the project's applied behavioral analysis techniques. The pressure of time required these accelerated changes, but criticisms about this pace and about the unrealism of the project staff's expectations continued throughout the first year.

This effort provides an interesting example of the "blitz" strategy in educational change. One grade was singled out in each demonstration school. All teachers in that grade were then exposed to a week's intensive training. Over the weekend, the project staff removed all desks and traditional furniture from the teachers' classrooms so that their return to the familiar setting could not reinforce what the project staff saw as regression. The teachers literally had to go forward. By the middle of their first week back in school, the second-grade teachers revolted and went en masse to see the principal. (The project director was left to cover the combined classrooms of 200 second graders.) But as far as

the teachers could point out inadequacies or the need for additional materials, models, etc., the project staff, which was at that point physically present in the building, would satisfy the demands. The approach of "humane" gradualism was specifically rejected on this occasion, but the blitz was never repeated. It was so costly and painful that one of the three schools designated as a demonstration site withdrew from the program. In addition, between two and four teachers in each of the demonstration schools left because of the demands of the project. Still, there was profound and far-reaching change in the model schools' classroom performance. In the first year of the demonstration schools, there was such marked staff differentiation that elementary school children were changing teachers and physical sites as many as six times a day. The demonstration schools' success led to generalized expectations of extensive change from all participating schools.

Materials

During the first year, a great deal of time was spent writing and producing training materials, much of which had to be modified in succeeding years. The project staff spent most of that year about one-half step ahead of the trainees.

The attempt to secure a "materials van" is another interesting feature of the early period of the project. The staff secured a state Title III grant that was to be used to provide mobile support services directly on-site to target schools around the city. The van would have spent a day in each scheduled location, helping teachers prepare materials, etc.

Treatment

The project staff was also to be used differently in the first year. The design of the project had specifically tried to avoid the "center syndrome," that is, they avoided any establishment of a dumping ground for problem children, which might take care of a child's problem, but doesn't help teachers learn how to deal with the situation that has caused the problem. To avoid that, and to work on the "mainstream" regular classroom, the special education staff who had been working in their own homogeneously grouped self-contained classrooms were now to become consultants in "precision teaching" to the regular classroom teachers.

In addition, they were supposed to visit regular classroom teachers during the 15-week interim between teacher training sessions, in order to provide help and reinforcement. Those visits, regularly scheduled by the project staff, were also opportunities to assess the progress of the trainee teachers. Since the

precision teachers were also working with and through the principal and sharing information about the teaching behavior of the staff, the evaluation consequences of that role soon became apparent. Finally, these visits were intended to provide early reinforcement for the accomplishment of the project's techniques.

The original version of the project ambitiously sought to accomplish its objectives with 1020 teachers in a week of training per trainee. This would have doubled the average number of trained teachers per project school from 6 to 12, but the school board thought that the one-week training period was too brief.

Participation

The role of the existing special education staff changed several times in the early years of the project. The training blitz applied to the demonstration schools, and the early successes with the volunteer regular teachers created a situation in which the regular teachers were moving faster and enacting more of the project's purposes than were the special education teachers who were ostensibly supposed to serve as consultants.

This created pressure on these teachers to change. (It also serves to confirm the wisdom of the project personnel's original intention to get the project activities housed in the regular education department. Even though the staff members and modus operandi of that department would have been less congenial to the change-oriented group, the latter professed to be willing to subordinate themselves to the regular education people in order to have a more strategic chance to bore from within.)

Some time in the course of the first year, the special education people were reprogrammed from the consulting roles in regular classes back into a version of their former roles. The new responsibility was a "Precision Learning Center," that is, a place where all of the support technology of the project would be available and where the special education people could work with handicapped children intermittently.

Originally, project selection of trainees was completely without regard to the presence of handicapped children in the trainee's classroom. This procedure was consistent with the project's attempt to change the classroom in order to accommodate handicapped children. Also, the project operated in its first year without "consulting master teachers."

Finally, the project began by making use of human relations/organizational development specialists from an outside consulting group. The group met

frequently with special education headquarters personnel in an attempt to encourage them to redesign the roles they played in Dodson schools.

ADAPTATIONS

Goals and Objectives

The project aimed to use behavior modification techniques on teachers in order to encourage or train them to do the same in their own teaching. Token economies, counting, charting, contingency management, contracts, and the whole galaxy of applied behavioral analysis are the substance of the project. Such techniques are not very acceptable in Dodson's neighborhoods, nor for that matter with most of the Dodson schools' staff. It is a fact that part of the opposition to the project equated behavior modification with "Communist brainwashing," and individualizing instruction was (somehow) held to be against the "American way of life."

One tactic for dealing with such opposition is to minimize the intended changes, to relate the new behavior to existing practice, and in general to deny that you're trying to achieve anything at all. Versions of this tactic are evident at various levels of the project, especially among the participating principals, for whom it is important protective coloration.

Most people had told the project staff that it would take five years to introduce open classroom procedures in Dodson, but the consequences of the "blitzing" strategy worked so well in the demonstration schools that these schools got too advanced to serve as realistic (i.e., incremental) role models for the trainees. The procedures in the demonstration schools were so completely unlike those in the more traditional schools where they taught that most trainees were overwhelmed and thus blocked from emulation. The project's initial goal achievements thus cost it a measure of credibility.

Treatment

Perhaps the most substantial adaptation made by the TDCs had to do with materials. The project had always intended to provide written materials in conjunction with the training experience. The psychological advantages of having the trainees produce their own materials, however, provide strong arguments against too much prepackaged material. But the teachers were unanimous and persistent in their demand for more "things" to lessen the substantial burden of work needed to switch to the new procedures. In fact, discussion of materials needs took up more

time than any other matter. In response to that, the project began to provide much more tangible support than originally planned. A similar project response to site demands had to do with the revision of the Advanced Organizer kit, which was not popular among the trainees in its original configuration.

There have been several other modifications in the project. The demonstration schools no longer function in their original capacity. Since 100 percent of their staff has now been trained, and since the project's effects are supposed by now to be firmly in place, the demonstration schools no longer get the help of consulting teachers. The training has now been successfully implanted in a number of classrooms around the city. To render these decentralized sites more accessible (physically and psychologically) to teachers, the project now pays consulting master teachers a small additional stipend for work as demonstration teachers or as traveling consultants.

No other schools in Dodson teach the way the TDCs do. Whatever was learned there was drastically simplified and watered down when the trainees returned to their own schools. This is true even in the TDCs. During the early days of the project, the students moved among different specialized teachers and settings as many as six times a day. During the second year these moves were cut to three, and now the children only move twice a day. One of the schools, originally largely ungraded, is now back to a traditional grade-level organization on the grounds that "the kids needed more structure." More broadly, the project had sought to affect the entire curriculum of the elementary schools--from reading, to counseling, to social studies, to socialization. While the training materials could have been appropriately applied to several different elements of teaching/learning, the most popular implementation has been for spelling. Despite the marginal importance of spelling as a skill, many teachers have seized on it as an easy and appropriate way to start implementing the project's techniques. And, unfortunately, many of them have also stopped there. (Even this change is not without its problems: Some principals have insisted that grade-level spelling textbooks be employed, and others have objected to their teachers treating spelling tests as consumables.)

Another simplifying change is the reduction from five days to three spent in introducing the BSL materials. This reduction has been accompanied by some schedule changes so that the project can now train 100 percent of the staff members of the 85 target schools. Finally, the content that the "precision teachers" had been responsible for, has now been incorporated into the kits. If future school boards should choose to send the precision teachers back to self-contained

classrooms, this device permits knowledge and techniques that they represented to be available for regular teachers.

In fact, there have already been moves in that direction. When the conservative majority was re-established on the board, one of its first actions was to close the Precision Learning Centers and send the special education teachers back to self-contained classrooms where the handicapped children could be grouped and isolated as they traditionally had been. Interestingly enough, the roughly 100 principals who had PLCs in their schools voted to retain them in opposition to the board's expressed wishes. The vote should probably not be interpreted as much as support for the project's intentions as simply an endorsement of the availability of a special-purpose, specially equipped physical facility where problem children can be sent.

Management

There have also been changes in several aspects of the project's management, which tend to enhance principals' authority. Principals, for example, now control the trainee teacher's eligibility for and use of the bonus passes. Principals also meet in regularly scheduled "cluster" groups where 6 to 8 schools sit down with the area resource teams and work on problems of innovation. Both moves can be justified not only for the principals' increased commitment to the project but also for the greater project responsiveness that probably results. But these moves also reflect a loss of power at the central level.

The fact that teachers who once had to accept the scrutiny of their consulting teachers have now been allowed to request (or ignore) that assistance can be interpreted in the same fashion. On the other hand, several teacher respondents expressed a desire for stronger centralization, more guidance, and more prescription on exactly what they, as teachers, should be doing.

Complexity

A common and entirely predictable complaint was that the project tried to do too much too quickly. There was a litany about "those kids who came in here from the ivory tower and tried to tell us what to do. . . ." Allowing the trainees at the delivery level to reassert their control also effectively compromised the substance and pace of the project's accomplishment.

Finally, the project gave up its attempts to increase parent and community involvement.

Project Staff's Role

The change-oriented group in the Dodson schools chose to work on a difficult situation. The curriculum and pedagogy of the Dodson schools are very traditional. The political culture of the schools is even more conservative, mistrustful of change, suspicious of outsiders, and resentful of any real or implied criticism. For the most part, the schools' business is conducted at a pace slower than a walk and more akin to a gracious ooze. The staff members had to believe in what they were doing, they had to be critical of the existing system, they had to use each other for moral support, and they had to honor their own interpretations and diagnoses over those of the establishment. Any other posture was likely to compromise chances for even limited success.

These attitudes compounded the hostile reception the project staff received in the field. Anyone moving into a school, intent on making fundamental changes in the existing practice of "teacher-professionals," is not likely to be very kindly received either by teachers or the principal. Although many of the project's features were designed to deal with that reality, nevertheless the youth, zeal, outsider status, academic credentials, headquarters prominence, lack of "practical experience," and personal style of the project's leadership provided ample rationalization for Dodson's educators to resist the project.

Capacity To Innovate

It seems likely that this project's experience will rule out major attempts at change in the Dodson schools for the next several years. First, the project has already affected and satisfied those teachers and principals who might have been prospective clients for change. Second, the acrimony, vindictiveness, and the personal consequences visited on the project staff will not have gone unnoticed among Dodson educators. Anyone who wants a secure career inside Dodson schools will be unlikely to follow this precedent. Third, Dodson as a system has probably become much more sophisticated about managing innovators. Because of a maverick board and an outside superintendent, this project had two years of relatively unrestricted running room. Future projects are much more likely to be carefully monitored, carefully structured, and carefully "cooperated with"--perhaps to the point of inertia.

NEAR-TERM BEHAVIORAL CHANGE

Organizational Changes

A cornerstone of the project's technique was to change structures in order to provoke, facilitate, and reinforce behavioral change. This was the purpose of the TDCs and the whole administrative superstructure for the project at headquarters. Special education supervisors and teachers were reorganized in order to impel them to change their roles and thus the services they performed. Despite the fact that the board has moved to erase many of these organizational components, the behavioral changes affected seem likely to persist.

The project's effects on morale are difficult to determine. Many of the people who tried hard got bruised in the process and will probably go elsewhere. The remaining group may become cynical. The special education department certainly has more visibility than it had, but whether people are more or less supportive remains to be seen.

Changes in School Personnel

Probably the most significant teacher change associated with the project is the fact that the evaluation team discovered that the trained teachers used significantly more verbal positive responses and significantly fewer verbal negative responses to students than did untrained teachers. In a project that sought to communicate applied behavioral theory, this is a central achievement.

On the (shaky) basis of the Rand study team's nonrandom visits to classrooms, a few additional generalizations may be in order. The teachers whose performance most nearly approached the project model were those who already had learned or used similar techniques. Other teachers were careful to modify only small amounts of the more peripheral of their tasks. But because the project was aimed at the central area of pedagogy (the style of teacher and student interaction), even these changes may yet be important. For example, we encountered several teachers who vehemently denied the utility of what they labeled as "yes-yes education." To them, this pejorative term referred to the abandonment of punishment and discipline and the emphasis on what "the little monsters want." Still, even these teachers readily described changes in their performance that were supportive of project goals. In addition, their classrooms often featured as many "centers," teacher-made materials, individual progress charts, and so on as did the classrooms of those teachers who were more verbally supportive.

Teacher respondents were asked to describe what percentage of their total teaching behavior had been affected by the project experience. The self-reported estimates ranged from 10 to 66 percent, with the median probably falling around 25 percent. When teachers were asked how many of their trained colleagues in the schools had been significantly affected by the project, they estimated that at the most not more than 5 to 8 teachers had been so changed. These estimates were much higher in the demonstration/TDC schools where the entire staff had been trained, which tends to support the project's current aim of training for 100 percent of the staff in each of the target schools.

Student Achievement Changes

Student achievement changes as measured by paper and pencil tests were no more easily attributable to this project's intervention than such interventions ever are. The evaluation detected slight, contradictory, and nonsignificant test score changes. Measures of student change other than standard achievement test results were not available.

Value of Project to Administrators

Considering the fact that the conservative board removed the superintendent who had staked much of his reputation on the success of this project and its related activities, and considering the fact that the board rather gratuitously demoted the project director and attempted to dismantle a key component of the project (the school-based Precision Learning Centers), it seems unlikely that Dodson will try any project like this one soon again. This judgment does not, of course, apply either to the project personnel who are now fighting a rearguard action to protect what changes have occurred or to the former superintendent who made use of the project's "success" to land a new superintendency.

Unanticipated Consequences

The project staff probably did not expect to succeed so thoroughly with the demonstration schools that these schools became unrealistic role models. Most staff members expected considerable resistance and estimated that they would have no longer than three years in which to attempt change. In fact, they only got two years before the conservative forces reasserted themselves.

In part, the virulence of the opposition to heterogeneous grouping, individualized instruction, and behaviorally grounded teaching must have been unanticipated.

In the early days of the project, much staff time was spent calming protest meetings which had been prompted by parental discovery of "crazy kids" in their children's classrooms and the disclosure that games and child-centered activities (like talking) were being used to teach the children. Some teachers even resented "paying kids to learn instead of the child's normal way of learning." All of these teaching techniques have been passé among most professional educators for the better part of a decade, but they were social dynamite in Dodson.

Not all the unanticipated consequences have been bad, however. The textbook selection process is now moving from system-wide basal readers to individual school-based adoptions. In some few schools, the change has been so beneficial that the public school has begun to attract some of its former clientele that had enrolled in Dodson's extensive private school network. As mentioned earlier, the rapidity with which the regular teachers in the first wave of trainees changed provoked changes in the special education group as well. These changes ended up in a total reorganization and a total reorientation of this staff.

CONTINUATION

Virtually no one expects the TDC and its related activities to persist as an entity. This is ironic since one of the assistant superintendent's original guiding principles was that change could not be effected through a "project" as a self-contained bundle of activities. For that and other reasons, he tried hard to annex other activities, to transform existing efforts, and in general to make the change as systemic and comprehensive as possible. The TDCs and the training and the headquarters changes were all designed as a kind of blanket of change that would hopefully be able to survive the dissolution of any component. The concomitant risk was a lack of concentration, a chance that project resources may be spread too thin to be effective anywhere.

Two of the project's central features, the TDCs and the use of special education personnel as precision teachers, appear certain not to be continued in their current institutional form. But, anticipating that they would be dissolved, the project staff members incorporated the previous techniques of precision teaching into the substance of the project's trainee follow-up kits. They also made provisions to move the TDCs' activities to a less vulnerable part of the bureaucracy, that is, to one that was not funded with soft money. The new bureaucratic home for the TDCs (which will be renamed and reorganized but will still be underground TDCs) is in a part of the Dodson headquarters that had already been substantially

transformed by the project. This congenial retreat is a nice spillover from the systemic ambition of the project's early stages.

Considering the prospects for continuation at the headquarters level, it seems probable that many of the survivors have been permanently changed. Basal texts, lock-step curricula, teacher-centered procedures, and learning environment dominated by regulation and punishment can't go unnoticed. It may not be feasible or politic for staff people to work as openly or as vigorously against this sort of education as they did during the project's heyday, but they will still move in the same direction. Again, in preparation for this move, many of the project staff people were required to go through the entire training sequence twice in order to ensure "mastery" and to encourage continuation.

The school level prospects for continuation are much less certain. Those teachers whose performance was significantly altered by the training returned to their schools and invested impressive amounts of energy in implementing a new style of teaching. Although there was some almost inevitable backsliding and considerable unevenness in what was done, for the group that made the effort at implementation, the changes seem permanent. Typical comments were, "I could never go back to teaching 30 kids that 2 x 6 = 12." Thus, for the intensively trained, and well-supported group, the change is permanent.

For the trained teachers who made only small adjustments (e.g., spelling lessons), these small changes are also likely to persist but are unlikely to grow into anything more substantial. Other teachers are not at all likely to make important changes in their teaching behavior.

The influence of the principal determines much of the success or failure of innovation among teachers. In one of the areas of Dodson where the project has had its greatest success, 11 of the 12 principals now actively cooperate with project personnel and support the project's purposes at least verbally. But, according to one estimate, this number will drop to four within a year after the project's termination, and within these four schools only half of the classrooms will be using project techniques. Since some of the most supportive principals are also among the system's most ambitious and mobile staff, their ranks could be even thinner very quickly.

DISSEMINATION/DIFFUSION

The project as a whole, with its associated activities, has had considerable visibility in the state. The state's culture is such that there is a lot of competition among its cities. Dodson was intent on seizing the initiative and leadership in

implementing the legislature's mandate for change with respect to handicapped kids. In addition, the assistant superintendent saw to it that brochures, journal articles, and more popular publications were prepared on a nationwide basis. Within Dodson, the controversy around the mainstreaming concept and the behavior modification techniques was largely a coincidental focus for an inevitable liberal/conservative conflict. Still, this conflict guaranteed the project more visibility. Unfortunately, the net effect has probably been to retard diffusion.

The more important question for the project's administrators is whether there will be diffusion effects from those Dodson schools where there has been substantial change to other schools in the district. Here the evidence from our visits was fairly clear and negative. Commonly, anything going on in another school is ignored or discounted. Without the cross-fertilization of the project personnel, the cluster meetings, bonus passes, and TDC trips, it is extremely unlikely that a teacher or principal would pay much attention. So strong is the norm of mutual non-aggression among schools that even those schools that had reputations as successful implementers had no visitors from their neighboring or cluster schools and colleagues.

The project concentrated on elementary schools. When children accustomed to individualized and self-paced learning arrive at high school age, will they and their parents create a pressure for similar changes in the secondary schools? The project had originally included a secondary school as a TDC site but then dropped any attempt to change secondary school teachers on the grounds that secondary education was more "conceptual" and bound to topics, defined in terms of disciplines. It seems unlikely that students and outsiders (parents) can achieve what this project could not.

The same phenomena that retard diffusion among schools hamper it within schools. Teachers employing behavior modification techniques are already breaking their schools' dominant norms. In the absence of strong support and protection, they are unlikely to proselytize or even try gentle persuasion among their colleagues. The first few weeks during which a class of children is switched from large-group to individualized instruction is very likely to be accompanied by disruption and discipline problems until the self-control encouraged by behavior modification begins to take effect. Dodson principals, during the crucial transition period, severely criticized teachers for "losing control," or more simply withdrew their backup disciplinary help. Thus, from a single omission, other teachers learned what not to do. Finally, when the teachers who have made the investment and taken the risk to change see other teachers "getting away with murder," the

inevitable question is, why bother? Of course, the project's designers were aware of the existence and power of these forces at the school level and took account of them. But when the project terminates, the prospects for much dissemination and/or diffusion are not encouraging.

WAGONIA

Dale Mann

INITIATION

Wagonia is an outpost of a manufacturing company's empire in the Middle West. Wagonia has also always been a regional center with a strong agricultural economy, and since World War II, the city has quite successfully diversified its economic base so that the company-town aspect is not really very pervasive. The public school system serves 35,000 kids in about 75 schools; a parochial school system enrolls only about 8 percent of the total student population. Although Wagonia is surrounded by farm country, it is urban and all of its schools are classified as urban.

The project discussed here is unique in that it is run from and deals with only one school, a junior high school called Sunnyside in a lower middle-class area on the outskirts of Wagonia. The junior high school was built five years ago to accommodate the residents of apartment complexes and modest single-family dwellings that had, rather haphazardly, sprung up in the area. At the same time, the school board closed one of Wagonia's inner-city, or more properly "downtown," junior high schools and transferred the faculty intact to the new school. Some of the students from that all-black school were bussed to the newly opened Sunnyside Junior High School.

Sunnyside's enrollment became 80 percent white, 18 percent black, and a few percent Chicano. Some white students and parents interpreted these figures as "'We' outnumber 'Them' 4 to 1"--an attitude that was vividly reciprocated by some black students and their parents. The Sunnyside area was largely populated by lower middle-class whites who, because they were adjacent to blacks, felt the most threatened by them and felt the most intense need to differentiate themselves from them. The Sunnyside area was a way "out," and its new white residents were very unhappy to discover that black children were now to be bussed into "their" school. At the time, 1969-70, Wagonia was experiencing a wave of civil rights unrest which has since receded. The Sunnyside Junior High School became something of a cause célèbre and attracted the attention of black and white militants and organizers of every persuasion from Wagonia's civil and ethnic groups, the Wagonia State University campus, and the local high schools.

Why Initiate?

To compound an already volatile situation, the faculty was not happy in its new quarters. Construction delays had held them in their old facility but without students for two months and in order to keep them occupied, Wagonia administrators had encouraged them to plan for a totally new school. This planning binge ended in frustration and bitterness when the teachers finally arrived at their still uncompleted facility and found that it wasn't Utopia. In fact, because of violent and constant race problems, it was more akin to a nightmare. The school's principal was not competent to deal with the Sunnyside reality, and most teachers simply retreated to the sidelines while the kids tried to destroy each other. During the first several months the school was shut down more than it was open.

The leader of the school was a black who had followed the faculty from its former downtown location. The whites (described by some as "up-tight Christians") claimed he was not competent and refused to accept him. The blacks resented being bussed. The teachers who thought themselves competent to teach black children because of their former school experience were at first bewildered by the situation; then they withdrew.

All of this was taking place in a school where the scale and the organization precluded any effective teacher-student interaction. Fifteen hundred kids, most of whom were new to each other and the faculty, were passed from teacher to teacher six times a day. There was no continuity of supervision, no sense of shared responsibility, and no effective modeling. Violence between faceless students was dealt with symptomatically by faceless teachers. In addition to the need to create more humane identities, there was also a need to convince teachers that the students could and did perceive resentful and withdrawn teacher attitudes about the school.

Extension and Alternatives

The project at Sunnyside deals with staff differentiation as a way to increase the efficacy of the teacher-student nexus. A few years before the project's initiation, the project director who was then president of the Wagonia Teachers' Association had accompanied an assistant superintendent and a foundation officer on a trip to look at a staff differentiation project in Kansas City. When they returned, a joint union-administration resolution endorsed a "cafeteria style" staffing option in which a departing teacher could be replaced by two paraprofessionals, team teaching was to be officially sanctioned, and team leaders were to

be chosen by the administration. This plan was in effect in two schools at the time of the Sunnyside disturbances. The year before the Sunnyside proposal was written, the Wagonia School System had unsuccessfully asked for $250,000 in Title III funds to support an extension of these ideas. These alternatives and others were the base on which the Sunnyside project was built.

Proposal

A central office administrator suggested to the man who was to become the project director that, in light of Sunnyside's problems and the man's own previous interest in innovation, he might try a proposal for Sunnyside alone where the district had failed. The initiative was to be solely teacher-led, and a committee of nine teachers with a single administrator carefully relegated to a liaison capacity* was formed. The group included representatives of the teaching staff from each of the 7th, 8th, and 9th grades, as well as from the "core subjects"/ "elective subjects" schism that affects the school. Although the group's leader knew in advance the particular model of staff differentiation he wanted to see emerge, the group still took almost a year of weekend meetings to produce the proposal. Many of the people still active in the project worked on every stage of its initiation and recall that experience favorably.

Negotiations

The Wagonia central office had not always fully considered proposals coming from the grass roots, and the fact that some proposals had not been forwarded to the SEA and Feds for consideration had caused resentment. The Sunnyside group succeeded in extracting a written guarantee from the system's newly arrived superintendent that he would provide travel money and support at the next higher levels if it was indeed written.

That support was probably crucial in at least one stage. The SEA, whose headquarters are in Wagonia, had to be supersensitive to changes that it favored in the Wagonia schools. Since there were already two Title III projects in Wagonia and even another one at Sunnyside, the equity question was clearly an issue. Still the proposal was funded.

*Having excluded administrative participation in exactly the way that administrators have excluded teachers appears not to have been very costly in this situation.

Support/Opposition

Sunnyside JHS was in such bad shape that few people could justify resisting a new departure, especially one developed among their own teacher ranks. Several people including the superintendent, the association leader, and the committee members were strongly in favor of the project. Most teachers could probably be described as open to persuasion. Only one group--the 9th grade teachers--were resistant although not to the point of opposing the project. The 9th grade teachers identified more strongly with the high school curriculum than with the transmission of basic, more elementary skills. They were topically focused, committed to subject matter specialization, and thus locked into mutually exclusive compartmentalized "content-and-coverage." They were much less open to persuasion about the desirability or feasibility of staff differentiation than were the other teachers. And, since they dealt with older children, who were supposed to take responsibility for their own actions, they were more reluctant than other teachers to feel that they bore a share of responsibility for the children's behavior. The attitudes, "They're old enough to know better," and "It's time they learned to take responsibility," are not conducive to more complex diagnoses and prescriptions for affecting the school's operations.

Adoption Process

At the district level, there was clearly a Model C "Opportunistic" response, but the far more adequate characterization is Model A, "Problem Solving/R&D Process." Sunnyside was in trouble, and when the possibility of a solution was suggested, the staff did in fact spend a long time diagnosing their problems, pinpointing needs, looking at alternatives, and designing a process to cope with these problems. Curiously, Wagonia State University, which runs an enormous graduate education factory and which is a ten minutes' drive from Sunnyside JHS, did not get asked for or provide any Model B Linkage.

Thus, the project got started in response to some dramatic events that affected everyone. There was widespread grass roots participation in its initiation, extended planning, and support from the top of the system.

Baseline Characteristics

Sunnyside is a 7th, 8th, and 9th grade junior high in a lower middle-class neighborhood created in part by white flight. About a third of the student body is

characterized officially as low SES. District per-pupil expenditure in 1971-72 was $980, up $110 over the previous two years. The 1550 student population is quite large by Wagonia standards, and to combat the anticipated student anonymity, Wagonia planners had designed the school in two parallel wings. The identical wings that were each to have a subprincipal dean of students were supposed to facilitate a sense of community "a' la house planning." Instead, they guaranteed the mutual isolation of one-half the school's students and faculty from the other half and facilitated student "raids" and retreats to disrupt the other wing. People did not know or take responsibility for those with whom they were either not associated or associated for only one hour out of six.

The faculty of 60 regular teachers is quite stable, but the school is also a teacher training station for interns so there is some sense of turnover.

There is another Title III project in the school that concentrates on reading achievement. The project's resources and interventions are physically concentrated in reading labs and centers. This project is viewed as being either subordinate to or in isolation from the staff differentiation effort examined here. The lesser effect of the reading project and the leadership visibility of the staff differentiation project made the subordination explanation more accurate.

CURRENT OPERATIONS

Project Characteristics

The sequence and pace of activities in this project are its most important descriptive features. The project seeks to use a version of the OD model to move the faculty to differentiated staffing over the three-year project span. The first step in this model deals with the opening of communications and the development of truth/trust feelings among those people whose behavior is to be changed. The sine qua non status of the truth/trust stage blocks further achievement until it has been accomplished. For reasons that are apparent from the foregoing description and that will be detailed below, Sunnyside has now spent two of the three-year project years working on the truth/trust and communications base. The palpable widespread adoption of differentiated staffing and especially the behavioral content of that technique have not yet received much attention. Thus, the goals and objectives of the current operations phase need to be viewed in two parts: first, what should

characterize the completion of the first-stage communications base? Second, what should characterize the successful implantation of the whole staff differentiation technique?

Goals and Objectives. This project just completed its second of three years in 1973-74. Since the project has not yet achieved its communications plateau, this goal remains paramount in its current operations. But the importance of this goal cannot be appreciated except in a context of ultimate objectives. Staff differentiation requires that teachers (1) abandon the self-contained classroom, (2) concentrate on a component of pedagogy most suited to their talents, and (3) contribute that specialty to the larger efforts of a team. This differentiation is supposed to result in a larger group of adult/teachers more effectively involved with a community of students much larger than the ordinary classroom.

According to the project director, the objectives held to be instrumental to that goal are as follows:

1. Attitudes and behavior must be altered for all team members especially in the direction of increasing the willingness of individuals to participate in groups, and to trust the other group members.
2. Some teachers must become more diagnostic; they must learn to identify talents and problems of individual children.
3. Each team must have a program developer--someone whose organizational and planning skills lend themselves to the preparation and coordination of teaching/learning activities.
4. Some team members must specialize in presentation, that is, actually performing the teaching role. The project director feels that although most teachers believe themselves to be good presenters, few are--in part because of the time demands of lesson preparation which under the staff differentiation model are the responsibility of a specialist.
5. Finally, each team should have a technologist, a person who works on media-assisted instruction, computer-assisted instruction, small group and individual instruction, etc.

The Sunnyside staff differentiation plan will require teams of 8 to 9 individuals, incorporating the 1 through 5 specialties above, to work with groups of 160 students. A logical, if regrettable, consequence of the total enactment of this differentiation

would probably be the further but invidious differentiation of the specialties. One could easily imagine the "presenters" or the developers, or the technologists demanding a pay differential on the grounds of the central importance of their work. For this and other reasons, the attitudinal changes stressing "sharing" and common responsibility are viewed as a necessary precursor to staff differentiation in its most complete form.

Goal Centrality. It would not be accurate to say that all of these goals and objectives have been central to the school even at this point, two years into the project's operation. If they were widely shared, the project would not still be concentrated on the first or communications step. (The project leaders and the school's principal are exceptions in that they do use the whole goals set as targets for their action although those targets seem a long way off.)

The first goal--increasing communications--is a different matter. Sunnyside really was in deep trouble; teachers did feel isolated; and there was widespread agreement on the need for better communications. But this agreement has a much more traditional and impersonal meaning than the sense in which the word is used in the OD literature. Thus, people probably wanted more information, more consultation, and a better match between the school's actions and their own preferences. They did not want, and the majority still does not want, more first-person involvement, more personal responsibility, and more interpersonal dependence, even though these attributes are among the functional prerequisites for staff differentiation.

Goal Consonance. It follows that the project's ultimate goals are not shared very far beyond the elite, although there is probably agreement about the need to do "something," defined in terms that do not substantially modify the professional's total behavior. In fact, more so than others, the school as a whole clearly seeks remediation rather than "rational" R&D-based reform. That is, behavior guided by goals and objectives is simply far less accurate as a description of the Sunnyside reality than is the widespread and keenly felt desire to get away from the bad old days of race violence and personal anomie.

Treatment. Staff differentiation currently operates at Sunnyside to the extent that the individuals assigned to a grade level subteam choose to participate. Whether or not one's activities are coordinated with or contributed to the team of which the teacher is nominally a member is a matter for individual determination.

Teams are organized within grade levels around common subject matters, that is, all 8th grade English teachers, all 7th grade math and science teachers, etc. Some teams are now organized on a wider base, that is, all 8th grade teachers of elective subjects. Each subteam is then assigned 2 counselors and led by a lead teacher. Teams are supposed to meet for daily planning sessions at a period when they are all free from classroom duties. (Scheduling these free times is a constant problem.) At the grade level, a team leader is charged with facilitating all of the grade's activities. Assignment to a team and grade level was originally determined by the principal and the project director on the basis of the expressed preference of individuals. Subsequent transfers have given almost all of the staff their desired assignment.

Although all teachers are organizationally assigned to a team, they can choose whether or not they wish to "team" teach. Many have opted not to. Lead teachers, team leaders, and the project director are all elected positions at yearly contested elections. As many as four teachers have run for a team leader opening. Much of the project's resources goes toward paying a small additional stipend for each position and especially toward paying for extracurricular activities for the staff and students. Finally, teachers at the grade level have the option to replace any of their colleagues who leave with two paraprofessionals. (This feature is due as much to Wagonia's decentralization of budget responsibility to the building level as it is to the project's philosophy, although the two do reinforce each other.)

Allowing teachers to opt out of participation leaves this project with a client population of volunteers.

The project's leaders think that this is consistent with building truth/trust, although their impatience about the pacing consequences varies widely. Many people believe that the peer pressure from the other team members forces most teachers to at least physically attend the team's daily and/or weekly planning meetings.

The lead teacher attempts to see all teachers on the subteam each day, holds weekly subteam meetings, attends weekly schoolwide project coordinating meetings, is responsible for soliciting and interpreting student needs, and facilitates the team's needs for buses, materials, advice, assistance, etc. Grade level team leaders do roughly the same thing at that level. Team leaders are supposed to visit classes and make suggestions--a practice that has been carefully separated from formal and official administrator evaluations--and yet few leaders feel able to do this either for reasons of their own or the teachers' reluctance.

Still, some of the teachers who are in need of intensive help are identified, although usually through informal means. Of the faculty of more than 60, about

15 percent have been singled out for assistance from the project in the last two years. This assistance usually takes the form of more materials or a substitute teacher, to free up the teacher's time, or simply "approval" and protection. These will be provided from the project office to the lead teacher who then works with the "needy" teachers.

The school has had serious racial trouble and is said to have very poor communications. To ameliorate these problems, much of the project's efforts have gone toward field trips and extracurricular activities that allow the kids to experience different phenomena, each other, and their teachers, all away from the school. Thus, large groups of kids have had lunch at Wagonia's Chinese, German, Italian, and other ethnic restaurants, have seen movies such as Sounder and The Sting, and have taken field trips to historic places around the area. There has been so much emphasis on this aspect of the project that some teachers complain of the disruption and dilution of their own lesson plan progress. Others complain that there is not much more substance to the project than the field trips and the scheduling changes — "buses and paper" as they put it.

Part of this criticism is caused by impatience with the pace of the project. The project director, a former Army officer, admits that the project has no palpable "T and I" component. That is, there are no formal lectures or designated subjects to audiences whose attendance is mandated. There are no outside consultants, but instead a total reliance on bootstrap change. Even at the beginning of the project, when teachers were asking for help, no one told them what the five features of differentiated staffing were; no one told them how to individualize. Instead, the emphasis has consistently been on the self-discovery of the need for change, and then the self-discovery of the solution. Thus, the project has been marking time while waiting for the staff to get organized. The project director is aware that the current pace of events will probably mean that the federal support will end before the behavioral content of differentiated staffing is securely in place. He regards this as almost inevitable given the glacial pace of any behavioral change and says that the best he can do is to "turnkey" the project, that is, to set a process in motion whose momentum will achieve the project's goals even if the project is discontinued.

Management. Probably the most distinctive management feature of this project is its elected leadership. Although some incumbents have a substantial advantage (the project director, for example), most positions are contested; people campaign with platforms and proposed changes; and offices do turn over. There is some evidence that recruitment and sponsorship by the principal and the project director

narrow the options presented, but on the whole the electoral aspect is an amazing performance in a social-political system as small as this. One would ordinarily expect votes to divide these groups, harden lines, polarize issues, and alienate the losing faction. There is some slight indication that this has happened in a couple of instances, and those dysfunctions may accumulate rapidly (there have been only three elections), but on the whole the experience seems felicitous.

The second management aspect is the location of the project director's job above the school principal's line of authority but below the central headquarters, in order to avoid excessive influence of the principal. Fortunately, this particular principal does not feel threatened by the instructional leadership of the project's director and has not used the many sanctions open to him. For his part, the project director is careful never to attend meetings of the administrative cabinet and never to admit verbally to having usurped the posture of nonencroachment (regardless of the reality). This is a prudent contribution to good relations with the principal and probably also a convenient rationalization for one who, as a teachers' union leader, was in vigorous opposition to administrators. Finally, there is still a residue of bitterness toward the administration. Wagonia has had a teachers' strike in the recent past. Some maintain that the union leadership misled its members into believing the strike was over money and fringes when the hidden issue was resistance to exactly the sort of staff differentiation — role specialization, plus pay differentials — that characterize the Sunnyside project. Others are bitterly critical of the failure of leadership and the cowardice they think the administration has displayed especially in the area of student discipline.

Other than the anticipated reactions of the principal mentioned above, the project guides its own resource allocations. Decisions are taken democratically at the weekly planning meetings of the team leaders, and they generally reflect requests or needs passed up from individual teachers or teams. The principal sits in on the meetings, participates actively, is resented by those already hostile toward him, but does not otherwise have the generalized chilling effect frequently noticed.

Evaluation. The evaluation is handled in a separate contract to a team of people in a local consulting firm. The evaluator is on-site weekly and gathers data from both sui generis surveys and from interviews. Summative evaluation reports are made yearly.

Complexity. So far, the project does not display a great deal of complexity. The master teachers, team leaders, etc. are not a very great departure from the traditional JHS organization, and since the project has not made much use of them

except to facilitate extracurricular activities and to build truth/trust communications, their role enactment is not very complex either. If and when the project gets to the stage where it attempts team teaching and staff differentiation, then it will have to be considerably more complex. Since its current overriding purpose is to get people to talk to each other, not much more is required.

Amount of Change. Implementing the five-part staff differentiation model described by the project director will require a radical departure from the school's current "teacher talk," self-contained classroom practice. The project has so far succeeded in increasing teacher awareness of the need to individualize instruction and to work on reading (although the latter is the responsibility of Sunnyside's other Title III project). Teachers readily admit that they cannot successfully teach Spanish or mathematics to students who can't read the English in their texts. And teachers also recognize the need to coordinate their attention to the child so that students know that teachers are interested in them more than during one 53-minute period.

However important these attitudes may be, they are clearly a long, long way from the sort of self-initiated, other-directed functional specialization required by the differentiation model. Teachers do talk about "teaming" but to them that means only serial rotation through larger group instruction, not authentic differentiation. In fact, teachers were completely unaware that such specialization was implied in the project's end purposes.

Extent of Change. Because of the nature of the treatment attempted, this innovation could be supported with a relatively small base. If, for example, five teachers were to differentiate their activities (presenter, technologist, diagnostician, etc.), this natural unit would also very likely be cohesive enough to withstand the social sanctions from the rest of the faculty. Thus, the extent of change here could be quite modest while the changes might still persist. In fact, the differential adoption rates among the 7th, 8th, and 9th grade levels lend credence to this judgment. Parts of the 7th grade are quite advanced while the 9th grade has been affected hardly at all. (See "Near-Term Behavioral Change" below.)

Organizational and Personal Characteristics

Communications. The subteam, team, grade level, etc. organization looks like a hierarchy, but in reality the shared assumption of people in project leadership positions contributes to an easy flow of information and responses among the various levels. Because of the way in which the principal is viewed by some of the faculty, the principal ordinarily channels most communications through the project director.

Bureaucracy. The only bureaucratic impediments stem apparently from the state department of education. Wagonia's superintendent had been most recently a professor of educational administration who has put his theories of organizational democracy into practice. Thus, operational authority over a great many matters, including budget allocations and project control, has been decentralized to the school building level. For reasons of monitoring and efficiency, the state department of education would prefer to deal with Wagonia Central on all Wagonia projects, but the central administrators have persistently referred all inquiries to Sunnyside.

Decisional Participation. Project decisions are made in weekly leadership meetings although these meetings probably only legitimate informal, bilateral agreements made mostly by a norm of local unanimity (what the 7th grade wants, the 8th and 9th grades will not oppose). The project director is clearly primer inter pares.

The project has an advisory board of parents, but it is not helpful. Parents of junior high school students have already begun to lose interest in school. They are neither close enough nor knowledgeable enough to feel secure in determining how teachers should be retrained (even in this school which had roving squads of parents to help keep order during its crises). Moreover, the parents were not present at the creation but are rather post hoc window dressing. Those parents who do serve are "friends and neighbors" only, and even they can be manipulated by district, state, and federal guidelines, directives, etc.

Capacity To Innovate. If the base years for this judgment are the school's initial strife-torn experiences, the project has clearly increased this capacity. People are much more reflective about their own work, much more critical of themselves and hence, one hopes, more able to innovate. Additionally, the project has given at least a dozen individuals leadership experience which could later be available for subsequent changes.

With respect to the pressure for change, the evidence is mixed. The project and its activities (weekly meetings with their consequent peer pressures, extra services, project memos, etc.) probably constitute a nagging presence for everyone. But for the most part the presence is passive and benign since the thrust so far has been on "communications" and not behavioral transformation. On the other hand, the project activities are visible, and the project personnel, in conjunction with the principal, have singled out several individuals who were then strongly encouraged to take part. Thus, although the "pressure" has thus far been applied only to the least threatening initial stages of change, there is probably more of it here than in most similar efforts.

The project director and the superintendent are both risk takers. The rest of the organization is not.

Ancillary Effects. For the teachers as clients of the project, there are some slight incentives in terms of paid workshop attendance. More important, however, they can get released time for materials preparation, lesson planning, etc., when the project provides substitutes. They also are able to supplement their own classroom effort with project-supported field trips. Finally, the project leadership provides effective support for departures from the status quo.

The team leaders and other people more directly involved in the project get more substantial amounts of released time (created by increasing the class sizes of the teachers on their teams) and a very small annual stipend. These people are much more visible than they might otherwise have been, have greater responsibilities, and (for the most part) greater intrinsic satisfactions. Project experience has been instrumental in the career advancement of several (about five) of the people at this level.

Project Director Role Correlates. The project director, a white, is between 35 and 40. He has an M.A. plus the course work necessary for a doctorate in administration at Wagonia State University. He is a tenured teacher in the system and a former president of the citywide teachers' association. His interest in innovation and better ways to teach span most of his eleven years of classroom experience (before moving into education he had been an Army officer). His tenure as union association president included many confrontations with the administrative hierarchy and that, combined with his liking for kids, seems to make it difficult for him to identify with his avowedly administrative role. (This is also partly a tactical choice, since a good deal of the project's strategy rests on the teachers' belief that these changes are autochthonous.) He was originally tapped to write the proposal by a central office administrator although his own prior record made him an unavoidable "volunteer." Since then, he has been elected each year by the staff to continue as project director. He is career-bound and aware of the policy issues around staff development. The project itself has been an excellent experience for him; it has increased his visibility to a statewide horizon (he organized a State Title III LEA project directors' association); and it has greatly enhanced his mobility. He devotes full time to project activities and is 100 percent supported by project dollars.

Role Correlates of Urban Administrators. Two other administrators are relevant here. The principal is by several years the project director's senior. He is a gruff individual who nonetheless seems very child-centered. By all accounts,

the project's activities "make him look good" in that they relieve him of some instructional leadership chores but still enhance Sunnyside's image. The principal's previous experience as a guidance counselor gives him a useful familiarity with the human relations assumptions underlying the project. He has no functional responsibility for the project (although his acquiescence in scheduling and other changes is key) and receives no money from the project. He seems place-bound and has probably hit a career peak as a principal.

The superintendent is definitely career-bound both by occupation (professors have been only slightly less transient than superintendents in the last 15 years) and by necessity (a newly elected conservative board ran in opposition to the integration stance with which he had been identified). He is fully supportive of the project although, because of his convictions about building level autonomy, his support is less apparent than some might wish.

ORIGINAL IMPLEMENTATION

Goals and Objectives

The project began with four large areas of goal achievement: (1) reading improvement, (2) student satisfaction with school, (3) intercultural relations, and (4) differentiated staffing. The first two goals were to be emphasized in the first year; changes in staffing patterns were seen as decidedly instrumental to the others. Work in the staffing area was simply to "get people aeclimatized--no big deal." Acceptable levels for the realization of those goals (plus 23 discrete objectives) in the first year were set very high. The second and third goal areas, those that had the most direct relation to race, were very likely to be regarded as central to the organization. The project was in existence for some time before teachers of the academic subject matters came to understand that a good part of their students' poor performance stemmed from an inability to read, so that goal could hardly have been a central one. Moreover, one of the project's initial goals had been to get teachers to admit to a relation between their own negative attitudes toward the school and the students' negative behavior. Because of that, the staff differentiation aspects were purposely downplayed to concentrate on more student-centered activities.

Treatment

After the first year, Sunnyside's original principal was replaced. The new principal determined that his best chance for effecting change in the student body lay with the most innocent group of students--the 7th graders, who would also be in the school the longest. In order to reach them, he began a conscious (but unannounced) policy of steering the most able teachers into 7th grade assignments. That concentration helped make the 7th grade the most amenable to change. In addition, teachers at that level were thought to be less content-oriented, and more receptive to cross-topic cooperation.

In contrast with the 7th grade, the 9th grade was and has remained very difficult to change. The administration has not been able to find a schedule that will allow the 9th grade teachers to meet and plan as a whole. Those teachers were already sharply polarized between "academic" and "elective" teachers, with the academic group arrogating to itself a superior position. The 9th grade teachers have resisted innovations, including field trips and teaming, because they believe these activities dilute the material that they must cover in order for their students to be ready for high school. As one teacher put it, "You've got to get to the China chapter before June!"

The first year the project was in effect, the 9th grade team leader was a young, articulate, concerned black. He had convinced his team members to allow him to make "diagnostic observations" of their classroom performance. He had organized an open classroom approach to his own teaching, and he was teaching demonstration classes. He was also using a form of encounter group and learning contracts with his students. His success was so great that he got promoted to an assistant principal's job in another school.

His successor as the 9th grade team leader was as articulate and as concerned but less patient with the pace of change. By all accounts, he pushed his team members very hard to change – at least in part because he was under the impression that all the team people had "bought into" the changes he thought necessary. Moreover, he was himself just completing a year as president of the teachers' association, during which time he had led an acrimonious if short strike. For both reasons, he overestimated the 9th grade teachers' commitment to change. When they failed to perform at the high level of his expectations, he decided to do virtually everything himself. When this failed to work, he became disillusioned and bitter. He had originally refrained from dealing with team members to ensure involvement of his linking lead teachers. When they failed to provide the linkage, the relationship

flopped suddenly from an attempt to facilitate communication to a perceived attempt to block communication.

An example demonstrates some of the difficulties. After an initial summer workshop, the majority of the 9th grade teachers voted to create mini-courses to be offered for 2 periods every week. But in September the group was rejoined by two of their senior colleagues who had not participated in the summer workshops. These two teachers claimed that mini-courses could not be successful unless they were offered on a schoolwide basis ("kill it by ballooning it"). When 48 courses were subsequently offered, the complaint switched to the substantive or academic irrelevance of the offerings. The faculty was immobilized between two polar groups, six radical-conservative teachers and six ultra-liberals.

These antagonisms have been compounded by a general alienation among 9th grade teachers from the principal. They perceive him to be more oriented to the problems of younger children and willing — as he is — to sacrifice the interests of the older children to the younger. Since they feel him to be unsympathetic to their special mission, they are also extremely suspicious of anything that smacks even vaguely of evaluation. Asking them to open themselves to criticism is a substantial request. The role of the project director is instructive here in that he chose not to intervene. Some people attribute that to competition between two former teachers' association presidents, both of whom are ambitious and whose personal styles are clashing on a limited turf.

Beyond the 9th grade, the original implementation differed in other ways. All teams were originally organized within grade levels and within disciplines. In the first year, the project also included a traditional sensitivity training component provided by outside consultants. The T-groups were to have been paid sessions conducted over a couple of weeks' duration with groups of 18 volunteers. Two were tried. When three of the four consultants proved incompetent, the firm was dropped, and the self-involvement, self-generated change aspects were re-emphasized.

Finally, within the first year, it became apparent that some of the school's teachers were improperly assigned and that a few others were fundamentally incompatible with the project's purposes. Three or four teachers were unilaterally reassigned to a new grade level by the principal, and a few of the incompatible group were encouraged to seek employment elsewhere. Eight of the school's faculty of 60 have been in one fashion or another identified as needing special help, which the project has thus supplied.

The management patterns described above have persisted from the beginning of the project.

Complexity and Amount of Change

Given the number, ambition, and high-criterion level of the goals and objectives originally stated, it follows that the original implementation version of the project was considerably more complex and ambitious than its current operational reality.

ADAPTATIONS

Goals and Objectives

The goal set for this project has been considerably reduced over time. From a project that was to have dealt with reading, two areas of student attitudes, and staff differentiation, the project now seems much more clearly focused on staff attitudes and changes. To be sure, this concentration is justified by virtue of the relation between the teachers' changed behavioral outcomes and the students' attitudes, but the fact remains that teacher change is the focus. And within the area of teacher change, there has been an even greater concentration or simplification, from the inculcation of a whole range of behaviors associated with staff differentiation to fostering increased communications (truth/trust).

The changes probably have several explanations. First, the reading goal was assumed by another Title III project so it could be dropped here. Second, teacher changes really are instrumental to student attitudinal changes, so it appears logical to use student outcomes as a dependent variable or an indicator of successful teacher changes. Third, where professional educators must decide among competing clienteles to be served, they will favor their own group over outsiders such as students, parents, and community members.

Treatment or Means

The changes within the staff differentiation goal (and the activities guided by that goal) require more attention. Staff differentiation has had to wait while the staff acquired attitudes thought to be necessary for these changes. A program of activities that originally included communicating that substance is now waiting for the trainees to signal their willingness to receive it. These delays will put a very large strain on staff during 1974-75, which will be the project's last year. The

pace at which the project has moved thus constitutes a large gamble that substantive changes, when they are introduced, will be comprehensively and permanently enacted at the eleventh hour. In that connection it should be noted that the Sunnyside experience is an honest one. Presumably, the project could have scheduled intensive training sessions for its teachers and moved them through some sort of a curriculum sequence in a more prescriptive fashion. Statistics about hours of exposure, numbers of trainees serviced, modules produced, etc. could then be used as more tangible and ordinary indicators of success. That has not been done.

Almost everyone volunteers that "this faculty can't be pushed." It may be that the racial violence, the teachers' frustrations, and their confrontations with the administration have produced a faculty even more obdurate than most. It may be that peer group and pedagogical communications were so bad that the two-year concentration on truth/trust was unavoidable. A substantial number of teachers had been abused in this school – assigned to five "modified" (problem) classes per day. The residue of hostility was deep and broad. It may also be that substantial and permanent behavioral change requires this sort of foundation.

Some alternate explanations also need to be considered. For one thing, the project director is a former teachers' association leader, widely recognized as a "good guy," and careful not to associate himself or his role with administrative authority. Encouraging teachers to communicate more with each other is entirely acceptable in the peer role, but telling, showing, encouraging, or requiring one's fellow teachers to teach differently is much less acceptable. Similarly, there are versions of differentiation that would have serious consequences for union positions, for example, trading paraprofessionals for regular teachers, allowing salary differentials by roles, or encouraging the decline of the solo teachers' self-contained splendid autonomy by team teaching, etc. The actual implementation of staff differentiation and the interests of the union thus may not be compatible. Finally, there is the question of expertise. The staff differentiation model that is held up as a goal is a very complicated one that incorporates a great deal of what is now known about teacher technologies. While the goals and labels are on display in the project and in the director's conversation, the substance is not so clearly manifest.

The simplification of the project, its concentration on the teacher group, and the de-escalation of its goals to a more proximate set is clear. It is unclear why this has happened. There is support for all of the explanations adduced above. They all seem to have contributed to this common phenomenon. If one were forced to weight them, the first type of explanation (those rooted in the problem as it

originally appeared) may be more salient than the second type (those which link different versions of self-interest to the amount and extent of change).

NEAR-TERM BEHAVIORAL CHANGE

Organizational Changes

There is no doubt that Sunnyside JHS has been affected by the project. Before the project began, teachers refused to take responsibility for students except during the period in which they had physical custody. Now students moving around the school, between classes and after school, are recognized by and interact with as many as a dozen teachers. The teachers, whose morale has improved markedly, now willingly accept responsibility outside the confines of the classroom.

The second major change is in the area of the project's primary concentration to date – communications. The amount of peer interaction among teachers over professional matters has increased substantially. As a whole, teachers are relatively insecure individuals who must try to perform virtually impossible tasks with a technology that is inadequate or simply wrong. Defensiveness and secretiveness are understandable attitudes where the circumstances demand a professional, pedagogical role performance even though there is no adequate knowledge about what causes good teaching and learning. Finally, because teachers know that they are supposed to perform intellectual tasks, and because their intellect is clearly on display in any kind of interaction, the safest performance is the least performance. Thus, to safeguard themselves from negative evaluation, they simply clam up. These reactions operate to suppress the amount of interaction in almost all academic communities. But Sunnyside seems different. The teams and subteams, the constant stress on communications, and the moral and material support of the project plus, of course, an initial high felt need seem to have combined to encourage exactly what the project intended – increased communications. A related finding is that Sunnyside has not ostracized its innovating teachers in the same way that other schools have encapsulated norm-busters.

Still, the curious fact remains that that high initial felt need to do something has been followed by the achievement of such a relatively small portion of the project's goals. One respondent with an overview said that the project had achieved about 50 percent of its student-related goals (decreasing violence, improving student attitudes) but only about 10 percent of its instructional goals. The combination of a high felt need for change followed by two long years of working almost exclusively

on communications may indicate how extreme are the amounts of any treatment that must be applied in order to evoke any behavioral change.

The project treatment has also been available to Catholic schools on a voluntary basis. Project activities are announced to these schools and may be attended by their teachers. The project director is available to consult with them although he has not been asked. Other project resources, such as buses and substitute teachers, are not, however, available. The training is off-site and not nearly as clearly related to their needs as it is to Sunnyside needs, so it is not surprising that although the Catholic schools have adopted some project modules, they have not otherwise been changed.

The final area of organizational change is that of teacher evaluation, which is now done by teams of administrators and teachers. Peer evaluations may be even more difficult to accept than hierarchical evaluations, yet people at Sunnyside believe that the levels of trust that have now been achieved are such that the practice is acceptable even though Sunnyside has a reputation for getting rid of student teachers, interns, and others who are not regarded as competent. On its face, this would seem to be a gain. But it is also possible that the project has to go slowly with teachers to reassure and placate their anxieties about possible negative sanctions.

School Personnel Change

As we have discussed at length, the most profound changes to date have been in peer communication, not in teaching behavior. Elective subjects, for example, are not integrated with academics; teaming exists but is not widespread; and comprehensive differentiation has yet to happen. A key signal here is the role of the lead teacher who at present is more of a housekeeper and facilitator than an instructional leader or pedagogical model.

What has happened? For one thing, the small peer group formed around a team seems to have become an effective instrument for change. There is evidence that a few of the weakest teachers have actually requested help from the project. Apparently, the purposive, but intimate and nonthreatening, environment of the subteam makes such requests permissible. And, on some of the occasions when teachers have exercised their option to resign from their subteam, the other members have invited the departing teacher back, if only to listen and be exposed to ideas. These sanctions, accompanied by the project's "slow" pace, may yet make possible sizeable substantive change in the next year. The 9th grade's

totally negative experience in reaction to last year's team leader's attempts to accelerate the pace of change may be instructive. Resistance stiffened dramatically and dysfunctionally.

None of these changes have been accomplished painlessly. After a calm year of seemingly peaceful progress, six of the school's ten teams "came unglued" because of the pressures, uncertainties, anxieties, and conflicts that they felt. Four teachers opted completely out of the project in the first year.

Distribution of Change

Estimates of the extent of significant change in Sunnyside vary from 20 percent to 50 percent of the school's faculty. Given the project's inability to penetrate the 9th grade, and given the ordinary unevenness of implementation, an estimate of about 25 percent seems sound. Most observers think that the school has a leadership cadre of about 15 committed and active teachers (or about the size of the formal, structural project leadership group, although the two populations are not the same). Some of these people are extraordinarily dedicated, and have contributed hundreds of hours of extra time beyond that which the project pays them for. About 40 teachers are in the middle (somewhat affected but essentially passive and marginal) while not more than half a dozen individuals are strongly in opposition. The truth of one Wagonia administrator's observation is most apparent with this large middle group. "Teachers," he said, "are not just lying around waiting to be T-grouped; they have demanding jobs to do before we ever even get to them."

Probably the happiest piece of evidence is the 7th grade team where the majority (perhaps as high as two-thirds) of the teachers are willing and productive participants in the project. The second such piece of evidence is the uniformity with which Sunnyside teachers have learned the language of human relations. Unfortunately, the language refers to process not to the substance of staff differentiation. The language in itself may be a significant indicator and a hopeful sign, but there is still a long way to go.

Changes in Kids

While there have been no changes in standardized achievement test performances that could be attributed to the project, there have been other important changes among the student body. From a school that was originally shut down more than it was open, Sunnyside has become much more benign. Racially precipitated incidents have declined (although part of the decline can be attributed to a

faculty that with greater sophistication now knows not to attribute each inter-racial conflict to racial causes). Discipline is better both in and outside classes. Participation in extracurricular events has increased; the drug problem has diminished greatly; and the kids feel decidedly better about the school.

Administrator Changes

The principal of the school and the system's superintendent have both profited from the existence of the project and support it. The superintendent has not been changed by the project, but it is possible that the principal has become somewhat (if slightly) more interpersonally sensitive and more process-oriented.

Both administrators recognize the central place of staff development efforts, and they would adopt this project again just as they may also continue a version of it after the current project's termination. (See "Continuation" below.)

Unanticipated Consequences

Several people are convinced that the school as a whole is being run from the project director's office, not from the principal's office. To the extent that such a shift in leadership has occurred, it was probably not anticipated. The second unanticipated consequence has been the effects of this project on the operation of Sunnyside's other, but parallel, Title III project. A good deal of that effort's achievement seems due to the basis laid down here.

CONTINUATION

The goals of the project are unlikely to change as long as the school's population remains as it is--racially mixed. The objective of building communications must, however, give way to more substantive foci during the upcoming and last year.

The project director is well aware of that necessity and describes 1974-75 as a "heavy training year." Part of his intention is to provide as much of that training as can be absorbed; the rest of his intentions fall under the heading of "turnkeying" the project. The district has consciously encouraged a wide variety of Sunnyside people to involve themselves in evaluation, in resource allocation decisions, and especially in long-range planning. There is a concerted effort being made to provide for the continuation of many project activities after the expiration of federal support.

It seems unlikely that the same level of support for buses, field trips, and substitutes can be maintained. Other activities such as allowing teachers released

time to conduct parent/teacher evaluation conferences, class scheduling to facilitate team meetings, and the whole leadership infrastructure can and will persist past the project's end. Other activities (some paid training sessions for teachers, for example) can be shifted to other sources of soft money.

Other features of the staff differentiation plan are already exactly consonant with district policy. The district encourages schools to trade paraprofessionals for teachers, to team teach, to functionally specialize, and in general to go and to continue to go in exactly the same direction that the Sunnyside project has taken.

The paramount question for the project's next and final year is whether or not it will be able to fulfill its agenda with respect to the behavioral content of staff differentiation. This will probably vary by grade level, with the 7th grade team enacting perhaps one-half the content over one-half of its staff, and the 9th grade staff successfully persisting in its resistance to change.

Unfortunately, it is too early in the project's career to make any guesses about the washout rate for these changes.

DISSEMINATION/DIFFUSION

The project has experienced considerable success with both of these processes. There is evidence that at least two other Wagonia schools are now trying a version of the project with some technical assistance from the project director. This adoption, within the boundaries of the original district, is quite unusual and may be due first to the visibility of the project director as a former teachers' association leader, and second to the superintendent's leadership. In addition, some members of the Sunnyside staff who have become experienced with this federal project are lent out by the Sunnyside principal to work with groups in other schools in developing proposals of their own.

The project maintains a parent and community newsletter with a mailing of 1600. In addition, the project has had scores of inquiries from around the country which are answered with brochures and other descriptive materials. Some of that, along with the attention that Sunnyside has had within the state, appears to be due to the statewide association of Title III project directors, which this project director set up to deal with certain dissatisfactions with the state department of education.

BLOOMVALE

Dale Mann and Lawrence McCluskey

INITIATION

Bloomvale is a suburban town within easy commuting distance from a large northeastern city. It has grown dramatically in the last two decades to its present population of approximately 30,000. Bloomvale is an all-white, solidly upper-middle-class community with a school population of about 6700 students housed in ten schools: seven elementary (kindergarten through 6th grade), two junior high (7th through 9th grade), and one high school (10th through 12th grade). The number of schools currently in operation in the community is testimony to its rate of growth: Twenty years ago, Bloomvale had only two schools. During the period of Bloomvale's growth, new staff members were hired by the superintendent and/or the assistant superintendent of the schools, both of whom tended to view the staff with a patriarchal eye. As a result, decisions were made centrally and generally went unchallenged by the school's staff. Few people had any objection to this arrangement until fairly recently.

Drug Seminars

During the 1970-71 school year, the state mandated a series of drug seminars for all school districts. These seminars were to be conducted by members of the school district staff who were to receive their training from state personnel. They were then to return to their individual districts and conduct a series of seminars dealing with drug problems for their staff and students.

The future Title III project director was a curriculum consultant with an M.A. in psychology. She was therefore selected for the state training and returned to Bloomvale to run the drug-related workshops. About the same time, a newspaper distributed in the suburbs adjoining Bloomvale began to run exposés of the high incidence of drug abuse in local high schools. Bloomvale authorities apparently became apprehensive that they too might well have similar problems.

A Communication Problem

As the state-mandated seminars were conducted, the students and staff began to perceive that lines of communication were not freely open. Students felt that they could not relate to their teachers or to the curriculum; teachers felt that they

could not understand student apathy, that they had little control over the curriculum, and that they were uncertain as to how to make their feelings clear to the administration. The director of the drug seminars reported these perceptions to the assistant superintendent, who was then acting superintendent of schools and a veteran of more than 30 years of service in the Bloomvale school system.

Because of several factors--the history of administration paternalism to the teachers, the conservatism of the school board, the militancy of a newly established teachers' union, and small town growing pains--contract negotiations between the teachers and the board had become unusually bitter. The new evidence of communications problems surfaced by the drug seminar led some district administrators to initiate wider participation in the decisionmaking process.

The Proposal

The following circumstances led to formulating a proposal: district experience with staff development in the drug seminar project; the consciousness that there was a drug problem; a desire to improve communication in the district and to reduce hostility and suspicion; and the potential of Title III funding for a staff development project. The acting superintendent asked the woman who conducted the drug seminars to write the district's Title III proposal. In writing the proposal, she was influenced by information about the possible merits of an organizational development approach to the communication problem. Thus the proposal combined a focus on drug problems with an organizational development approach to decisionmaking. The proposal is largely one woman's work, with the help of the people in the organizational development company that eventually landed the consulting contract.

Support/Opposition

The Bloomvale Board of Education was not enthusiastic about the proposal. At first, the board denied there was a need for such a project. Then the board objected to the words "change agent" because the term "agent" had too strong a subversive flavor for the conservative members. In addition, the board quite correctly perceived that the organizational development components of the proposal would stir up questions about who in Bloomvale was making decisions, and how, and why. The board had no intention of sharing its powers or having its antagonists become better trained participants. Finally, after the name of the project was modified, the board gave its token approval.

The Teachers' Association, also suspicious of administration motives, refused to support the project. However, the new superintendent, although cautious about supporting the project, was not particularly fearful that it would lead to erosion of his power base. Other administrators tended to oppose the project because they had ties of loyalty to the former acting superintendent, who had returned to an assistant superintendency after failing to receive the permanent superintendent appointment. In light of all these factors, the atmosphere for the proposed project was not propitious; even the new superintendent did not support it strongly.

Adoption Process

The adoption process in Bloomvale is best described as Model C: "Opportunistic Response to Available Money." (Since then the project has addressed itself to problem-solving although after the fact. At the time there was no consensus about what "the problem" was or even much felt need that anything needed to be done.) Certainly, the Bloomvale experience has no element of an R&D process. There is some evidence of Model B "Linkage," but the linkage was an effort pointed at grantsmanship more than analysis. In fact, one training staff member interpreted Bloomvale's need for the grant as necessary to identify its problems.

Baseline Characteristics

Bloomvale is a wealthy school district. Its population is largely middle class, although decidedly not wealthy; the tax base is very high because several major metropolitan area roads run through Bloomvale providing a natural home for a number of large shopping plazas and commercial buildings. This tax base allows Bloomvale to spend large amounts of money on its schools.

Pupil/teacher relations, staff training and background, student performance and college attendance, etc., are what might be expected from a small suburban school system with an unusually favorable tax base. Some observers believe that Bloomvale teachers are unusually defensive because the middle-class parents of the community are very active in pursuing their own interests and class interests. In order to protect themselves from aggressive parent behavior, Bloomvale teachers may be more than normally reliant on the school principals as a defense against parent interference.

CURRENT OPERATIONS

Characteristics of the Project

1973-74 was the third and final year of this project's funded operation. The project's initials SDDP stand for System Development for Decisional Participation. The system's development is supposed to take place through a series of initial training workshops, school and districtwide committees, staff activities, and outside resources. The training is now designed to focus entirely on improving the communication skills of the system's participants (and thus to contribute to their ability to pursue their own interests).

More specifically, by the end of the current year, the project was to have

- Opened up "communications" at all levels.
- Established a climate for change.
- Increased staff "effectiveness through experience-based learning."
- Used problem-solving techniques more efficiently.

The evaluation design and other project materials stress the reduction of student alienation and student normlessness but that seems to have more to do with the planned sequence of target groups than with the project's actual operation.

The project tries to move toward an open, efficient, effective, humane, and democratic organization, and to reduce student alienation. Progress is measured in terms of more discrete and behaviorally stated objectives, such as "a minimum of 300 people should take part in project activities"; 80 percent of those initially involved in problem-solving groups will stay with the group to the end"; such groups will be rated "helpful with 75 percent of the problems brought to them," etc.

Goal Centrality and Consonance. Bloomvale does not seem to think this project is critical to the success of its schools. The board opposed it and only one board member has had anything to do with the training. Bloomvale's new top administrative team inherited the project and finds it mildly useful. The principals remain aloof, and many of the teachers have not been touched. People live in Bloomvale because they want to avoid problems, tensions, and disruptions. The goal — and the extent that it succeeded, which was the inevitable outcome of this project — has been to find or discover or surface problems so that people could sharpen their problem-solving skills. Since the raison d'être of Bloomvale is problem avoidance, the project's agenda could hardly be called central to the received mission of the schools.

Beyond that, there is the widely acknowledged fact that the Bloomvale system is a "healthy," relatively well-functioning one. When the drug problem subsided, Bloomvale's big cause for concern disappeared. Even the trainers from the consultant firm acknowledge that there's not much wrong with Bloomvale, which means they have had to work hard to generate a felt need for change and which also suggests that this change-oriented project was not widely perceived as an important effort.

The school system, being wealthy, was already equipped with school psychologists, "rap sessions," and other activities that were supposed to be dealing with problems such as drug abuse and alienation. This project, somewhat outside that "guidance" mainstream, is thus seen by many people as simply redundant.

Treatment or Means. The project acts on communication skills in the district through an overlay of workshops, special-purpose committees, and additional roles assigned to existing personnel.

The project intended to hold two workshops in 1973-74, the first and most important aimed at the people in Bloomvale's high school who were thought to be most receptive and most important to SDDP's success with secondary school students. The first day of the two-day workshop concentrated on opening up communications and building trust, the second on problem-solving.

The workshop was held in November, after delays ensuing from a threatened teacher strike, but various complications prevented it from being as effective as those held during the first year of the project. Apparently, an Outward Bound project had appeared in the community. The strategy in this project was to bring adults and kids together in the setting of the outdoors. People got to know one another and by camping out learned the value of cooperative effort. An attempt was made to use a two-day campout to involve students and parents in the SDDP project. Day One would be devoted to forming teams and developing trust among the participants; Day Two would be devoted to the kinds of activities that had characterized the project's first year. The results of this experiment were unfortunate. The adults who attended the workshop came with an insufficient knowledge of what was in store for them. The kids came prepared to go camping and have fun. After a day and night in the woods, the group moved indoors, where to most people's surprise the training staff tried to engage them in some "heavy" problem-solving activities. As a result, the workshop went sour. Attempts to plan further workshops around a similar format were frustrated by (1) the onset of winter, which diminished the attractiveness of spending time in the woods, and (2) the reluctance of adults to give up weekends to attend training sessions (especially those held in the woods).

The workshops are further differentiated as Phase I and Phase II. Phase I is a relatively brief event that exposes a large number of participants to, essentially, themselves. Some standard introductory group therapy exercises are introduced, and people are encouraged to be more reflective and critical of themselves and more aware of the superficial dynamics of groups. Phase I results are often personally quite dramatic, and the individual breakthroughs are relatively easy to stimulate.

Phase II is designed to take the most successful first-phase graduates and equip them with systems intervention skills based on their Phase I personal insights. These people are to constitute the cadre or cell of certified change agents on whom the project relies. (Unfortunately, for reasons discussed below, most project efforts have gone into Phase I workshops for a wide audience rather than Phase II for a cadre.)

Phase II graduates are called "Internal Systems Process Consultants." These people are otherwise ordinary Bloomvale school employees who have been publicly dubbed by the project staff and their peers as good at "diagnosing system needs," "problem-solving cycle experience," etc. They are supposed to operate as human relations experts back in their home schools. Part of this group's responsibility is the preparation of "lecturettes" and other written materials.

District-wide Task Forces are supposed to work with the change agents on Bloomvale's academic problems.

Individual school-based SDDP Facilitating Committees are to provide the school's cadre with an operational base inside the school. The superintendent mandated that each school was to have such a committee. The project plan made the process consultant responsible for selecting the other facilitating committee members. Considering the fact that the facilitating committee was charged with finding problems, publicizing their existence, stirring up broader participation, and then solving the problems, the school principals' reaction might have been entirely predictable. Several of the principals consumed three or four months carefully preparing an agenda for the initial meeting of the mandated facilitating committee, which then took place at the end of the school year.

Supervisory Seminars were intended to be weekly meetings of all the process consultants to allow them to discuss common problems, develop solutions, and receive additional training. Instead, when it became apparent that the resistance of the system's administrators was slowing progress, the supervisory seminars were reconstituted as <u>en masse</u> meetings of Bloomvale's administrators in an attempt to increase their involvement. Only two such meetings have been attempted, and no one has been encouraged by the results.

The project has the usual complement of brochures and public relations materials. In addition, the project director diligently puts out an SDDP newsletter, which alerts everyone to the project's achievements to date and exhorts everyone to even greater effort.

The outside consulting group has played a major role in this project from the proposal stage in suggesting strategies, pinpointing needs, recommending interventions, and providing operational assistance in the conduct of the training experience. By design, their approach is procedural and interpersonal and not oriented to product and material. In this third and final year of the project's funding, they are trying to terminate their relationship, which means shifting total responsibility to the Bloomvale staff. Since the project director was on sick leave during the project's second year and is only half-time or less on the project now, there has been hardly any indigenously generated material.

Bloomvale clearly prefers to invest the $50,000 per annum for this project in stipends for trainees, consultant fees, project staff salaries, and other staff development-related activities.

Management. Project decisions have been a persistent problem. In the early days when the project was a pariah and the consulting group needed the publicity, this group virtually ran the project. In the second year, with the project director out of commission and the project in the nominal control of one of its detractors, there was a serious hiatus (see below, "Original Implementation"). The consultant firm's trainers believe that they are trying to wean Bloomvale from its dependence on outside help but many people in Bloomvale think that the firm is simply ripping off the district.

For example, the district felt that it was the firm's responsibility to prepare an audiovisual training tape, but the firm kept replying that the district could gain an important sense of achievement by doing the tape themselves. When the district declined to undertake this "success experience," the project director began to lose interest in the Bloomvale project.

The project staff and the training group wanted to concentrate on building a skillful cadre of people to work in the schools, but the superintendent thought it more important to provide a large number of people with the more superficial and personal experience of Phase I. The superintendent prevailed; a lot of people have now had their first such group experience, but proportionately fewer people have gone beyond personal to systemic competence, and most observers feel that the project's effect has thereby been diluted.

Most of what planning has occurred is done by the project director and the superintendent and checked with the consulting firm's employees (but no longer the president) who continue to work with the project. On paper, the facilitating committees have a planning function at the school level but they have never really become operational. This result is, of course, testament to the effective planning of the principals who heard the consultant tell them: "One, you have a healthy system; two, you have problems (which we know about and you don't--yet); so three, we are going to train some of your employees to solve your problems (which we will by then have identified)." The principals heard the second and third parts of this message most clearly and acted accordingly.

Evaluation. Evaluation of the project is the responsibility of the same consulting firm that has provided the training and other assistance. For the most part, the evaluations have employed technically correct designs conducted by people the firm hires for that sole purpose. The cover of each evaluation shows a credit line for the evaluator followed by "Approved by . . . " and the signature of the head of the firm that paid for the evaluation and whose achievements are being assessed.

Not surprisingly, the president of the consulting firm disparaged the independent federal evaluation of the project, which focused quite narrowly on the project's fidelity to the contract-specified activities. He maintained with considerable justice that this was unrealistic because the project had to keep changing on the basis of information that could only be available during the intervention itself.

Complexity. The project design suggests a degree of complexity in the overall training strategy that is not, in fact, present. (The project director had misgivings about the utility of an overall training design that was so complex.) The Phase I workshops are by now quite routine, Phase II has been underplayed for 1973-74, the task forces are adjuncts of other district activities, and the facilitating committees have never developed. This leaves the process consultants rather exposed in their individual schools, and not surprisingly most of them have chosen to conform, not transform. Thus, this project has become less complex over time.

Amount of Change. Implementation of the SDDP goals would require a school to become a happy, healthy, participatory democracy bringing teachers, students, parents, and community into decisions that have until two years ago been the sole province of Bloomvale's school principals. The major nonproject-initiated change since then has been the introduction of collective bargaining (an adversary procedure, not a participatory one) by a struggling teachers' organization. Of course, the board, and most of the district administrators, are also jealous of their

prerogatives. Implementing the SDDP goal would require a radical departure from current practice.*

On the other hand, in a system that is already in fairly decent shape, relatively modest involvement could be taken as evidence of success. The creation of a few more committees, the increased accessibility of some administrators, or any other participatory pastiche will serve. (See below, "Near-Term Behavioral Change".)

Extent of Change. At its most ambitious, SDDP aimed at a revolution, and it is always difficult to know how many revolutionaries are necessary to change regimes. A rough approximation, given the purposes of this project, would require that about a quarter to a third of the school's professional staff eschew subordination, stop being authority freaks, seize the initiative to control their own professional circumstances, take responsibility for their own actions, suspend their hostility and suspicions, increase their time and emotional investments in education by at least a quarter, and otherwise dramatically depart from the teacher-administrator norm consistently and persistently. Supposing that such changes could be sustained for the better part of a school year, they would probably constitute a sufficient force to alter the decisional and attitudinal practices of the Bloomvale school.

Site of Change. The bulk of the treatment takes place off-site — in the woods, at motels, at headquarters. etc. This reflects a conscious decision of the consultant firm not to be available to the process consultants in their schools, but rather to work with them only during their weekly meetings at headquarters. The separation between the training site and the site where the training is to be applied is further reinforced by the fact that the project director is reluctant to visit the constituent schools, on the grounds that her appearance in these schools only provokes dysfunctional anxiety among the process consultants and other friends of the project because they have not done more to implement SDDP.

Organizational and Personal Characteristics

Decisionmaking. There is a well-established decisionmaking procedure in the Bloomvale school system. Decisions tend to be made according to a "suggestion/approval" paradigm with approval or disapproval coming from the next higher link

*There is considerable ambivalence about this point. Some maintained that drastic change in Bloomvale would have been followed by drastic retrenchment; others disagreed.

in the chain. For example, two teachers decided that they would like to try the multilevel (combining 5th and 6th graders) teaching approach during the coming year. They suggested this idea to their principal, who approved it and suggested it to the superintendent. The superintendent, in turn, approved the idea and suggested that the teachers suggest it to the board for final approval. The fact that the superintendent himself chose not to present the idea to the board himself implies that having a suggestion disapproved by the next higher link in the chain of command carries consequences beyond the immediate disapproval. That is, each level in the bureaucracy values having its ideas seconded by the next higher level and finds disapproval highly distasteful. The pattern may also reflect the residual power of the board, which had become accustomed to asserting itself with the current superintendent's predecessors but which has increasingly deferred to the new superintendent.

A further consequence of this "suggestion/approval" arrangement is that it preserves good interpersonal relationships between any two adjacent rungs on the decisionmaking ladder. Thus, if a teacher suggests a change, his principal may approve it and suggest it to the next higher level of command. If at any point the suggestion is vetoed, the veto can always be attributed to some higher level in the decisionmaking process. Obviously, the buck stops at the board level. But the board is a rather amorphous body and seems capable (and willing) to have a negative image with the staff, since it can always justify its actions under the rubric of doing what's best for the schools, children, nation, or whatever.

Within the project itself, it is significant that the consultants instituted a fee for telephone consultations with Bloomvale people in order to protect themselves from constant inquiry.

Informal Communications. Despite this bureaucratization, there are informal lines of communication within the system. The new superintendent is widely described as operating with an "ITT executive model," that is, there is wide consultation and even solicitation about decisions and that builds commitment. But, at the same time, choice points are carefully and subtly separated from consultation so that the direction remains in the superintendent's hands. Thus, one interpretation of the superintendent's support for SDDP is that he was initially acquiescent because he had little to lose, but that as his own power has accumulated he is content to let SDDP become more symbolic than effective.

Decisional Participation. During this third and final year of the project, the project director made most of the decisions about the project, but the decisions seem inconsequential. People in the project, while acknowledging the changes that

the project has brought about, communicate a sense of remorse about what might have been and seem prepared to act as apologists for the project and what it could (should) have achieved. The consulting firm wants out (there are bigger fish to fry); the superintendent has stabilized a modus operandi that works for him; the board has calmed down; the teachers' faith is in their union; and the principals (who like the hedgehog can always wait) have the tunnel in view at the end of the light.

Capacity To Innovate. There is little impetus in Bloomvale toward innovation. In fact, innovation seems to be quite foreign to the interests of the district, particularly when the decisionmaking status quo of the district is being questioned by increased teacher militancy. Since any innovative program that receives external funding intimates a separate decisionmaking power, innovation is likely to meet with resistance from those blocs within the district who already share in decisionmaking. It appears that each power bloc has its own agenda, and innovative practices or projects have a low priority. This is not to say that Bloomvale won't continue to seek and receive soft money for innovative purposes. The district is about as adept at grantsmanship as most, but getting grants, implementing them, and changing schools are three distinct and compartmentalized activities.

Ancillary Effects. The Bloomvale project arrived in the district without the support of any of the influential groups in the school community. The incentives that it offered to its volunteer participants were meager, in terms of both immediate monetary reward ($3 and $4 per hour stipends) and long-range career advancement. The project made strenuous demands on participants' time with little assurance that any great personal gain would result. Although many of the teachers reported an improvement in their teaching styles as a result of their involvement in the project, there were limited incentives for staff members to become involved in the project's wider, more radical, and more dangerous purposes. Why, for example, should a process consultant, who was after all only a teacher, stir up trouble in the school if the consulting firm refused to come to his rescue (in fact, charged for telephone calls), if the project director would not visit the schools, and if the superintendent himself chose not to enforce his own "mandate" about the creation of the school facilitating committees. Given the circumstances, it is not surprising that none of the staff members interviewed reported that their involvement in the project held any promise of long-term gain.

School Administrator Role. The disparity between the principals' minor role in the design of this project and their central importance in its actual implementation has already been made clear. The principals were perfunctorily required to participate in an early project workshop, and they also had to attend some other

project-sponsored activities. Formal assessment of their success or failure was, however, in no way contingent on their performance in the project.

Most of Bloomvale's administrators have been in the system a long time and were promoted to the principalship by the current superintendent's predecessor. They are status-quo-oriented, tenured, place-bound, and without subsequent ambition. Two of the schools where the project has reputedly been most successful are run by younger, "outsider" principals, and the contrast and its consequences are apparent.

Project Director Role. The project director is a woman with more than 15 years of experience in Bloomvale schools. She has a master's degree in psychology from an in-state university and was previously a grade-level curriculum coordinator working out of the headquarters. She was recruited to her present position because of her experience with a state-funded drug seminar. She is mildly place-bound and seemingly resigned to returning to her former position as an instructional aide.

Responsibility for the project represented a significant promotion, greatly increased visibility, and increased responsibility. She is energetic and enthusiastic about her work and personally identified with it. The fact that illness took her out of the project's leadership for its entire second year shows clearly in the project itself and also in her attitude. She seems more resigned to the project's outcome than she would otherwise be. Half her salary comes from project funds, but she probably devotes considerably more than half her time to project activities.

Teacher/Trainee Role. The teacher trainees represent a mixed bag of individuals. They range from new teachers to teachers with two decades of experience within the district. Their salaries and preproject training also vary. The median for Bloomvale is 8 to 10 years of experience, 30 or more years old, with training received in-state, but aspirations that are decidedly local. Everyone who received project training is a full-salaried professional within the district and, apart from small hourly stipends received for the training experience, is paid fully from district funds. All participants were volunteers, and none of them expected that any promotions would result from their project experience.

Trainees were all volunteers. This method was probably "purer" in Bloomvale, given the studied disinterest of the principals, than it was in other districts we studied where some individuals were volunteered. The volunteer strategy served the interests of the new superintendent by identifying those people in the system who wanted to innovate. The head of the consulting firm thought that the volunteers were

the system's outstanding people, who would run Bloomvale schools in 5 to 10 years, but the biggest enthusiasts of this selection procedure were those who actually provided the training. They maintained that it would be fundamentally incompatible to have an organizational development training program, which tried to inculcate trust, initiative, and responsibility, select its trainees unilaterally and randomly. They believed that the required participation was viewed by the participants as a punishment or stigma that then blocked their receptivity to the treatment. Thus, the trainers had refused to work with anyone who had not asked for their assistance.

This procedure succeeded in immediately attracting to the program all the system's ultraliberals. From then on, the conservative majority "knew" what SDDP was about. The ultraliberals promptly and predictably became true believers and returned to their schools. Since the true believers were now willing to put in extra unpaid hours, accept extra assignments, and otherwise show initiative, their example quickly turned into a confrontation between the successfully trained teachers and the majority who accurately perceived them as rate-busters. (The intransigence of the union militants reached a point where they refused to allow teachers to return a project questionnaire on their lunch time.)

Furthermore some of those teachers who have resisted the project's intervention are quite simply not good teachers. This group is horrified to find itself in the company of colleagues who choose to take responsibility for failure. Thus, the existing system provides a great deal of protection for inferior teachers, who have much to lose by opening it up.

ORIGINAL IMPLEMENTATION

Goals and Objectives

When the project began, Bloomvale was still concerned about the drug abuse problem among its students. The newspaper articles and the new superintendent's intention to take action combined to give the project impetus and importance during its early days, which it has not enjoyed since. Partly the superintendent wanted to cool tempers and re-establish communications among various factions in the district. Some teachers seized on this aim to brand the project as the administration's attempt to manipulate them. But even then, the SDDP project was parallel (if not redundant) to the ordinary drug-oriented psychological services provided in Bloomvale.

From the beginning, there seems to have been a difference of opinion about project goals. Some people in the district wanted to resolve student-related problems, such as drugs and alienation, with a secondary and diluted focus on "communications"--a neutral and unobjectionable term that was a lot safer than "decisionmaking." The consultants, on the other hand, saw decisionmaking as the focus. The consultants intended to intervene in Bloomvale's politics with a version of the OD strategy--break down the role barriers, open up communications, capitalize on the consequent anxiety to reconstitute the system, and then stabilize the results or tighten the system up again. For the consultants, there was a variety of intervention points that could be treated as targets of opportunity. But the Bloomvale cadres never reached this level of sophistication and usually didn't know where to concentrate, when, or for what purpose. Were they supposed to change individuals, their immediate behavioral setting, or the system as a whole? The consultants had high-powered technology, ambitious goals, limited interaction, and very little responsibility. The people with the day-to-day responsibility (and high and continuing personal stakes) had more modest goals and decidedly more modest tools to employ.

Treatment or Means

The formal introduction of the project was made at a full staff meeting which all teachers were required to attend. The project director and the president of the consulting firm described the project. The outside consultant had the major responsibility for this task and did not succeed. Teachers reported that he spoke to them condescendingly, was vague about the intent of the program, answered questions flippantly, and appeared unconcerned about the project in general. Only a few teachers mentioned reduced student alienation as a goal projected at that time, but many appreciated that the project would focus on the notion of shared decisionmaking. Of the teachers who understood shared decisionmaking as a project goal, some felt that such an outcome was unlikely in Bloomvale.

The project staff planned to begin staff training approximately a month after the announcement of the project. In anticipation of resistance from principals, the outside consultant had suggested a training session for administrators in advance of teacher workshops, but the principals were reluctant to attend. These plans were scrubbed, and an announcement of the first training sessions of three and a half days over two weekends was made to the entire staff. When the number of workshop registrants (despite a stipend for attendance) was less than anticipated, increased recruitment ensued.

After the announcement of the project, some of the teachers in the system immediately decided to attend the initial training session. These people were characterized by one administrator as being the "gripers and idealists" in the system. The project director, with the assistance of those teachers who were enthusiastic about the project, then went out to recruit other staff members to fill out the complement of the training group. During recruitment, there was no strong support from any recognizable faction within the district.

The actual training took place as follows: First, the trainees were arbitrarily divided into groups. Group A consisted of those people who had been selected for a modified form of "sensitivity training" (the technique itself is anathema to the head of the firm), in which the participants were encouraged to be open and honest with one another in an attempt to break down role barriers, free up lines of communication, and otherwise prepare people for participatory decisionmaking. The primary focus of Group B activities was role playing. Participants in this group were assigned to play roles other than their own. That is, teachers had to play the roles of board members, central office staff, etc., while administrators became parents and students. When the roles had been assigned, the group was given a school system problem to solve, and each participant had to view the problem from his role perspective. The exercise was designed to show the participants the multiple perspectives from which any single issue may be viewed. Group C was composed of the entire group of trainees. They were to come together to discuss what they had learned from their experience. The training design hoped to capitalize on individuals' higher sensitivity and increased awareness of the perspective of others.

Virtually everyone in the system, including those people who have steadfastly resisted the training, agrees that the people who participated in this initial session gained something from it. They returned to their respective schools very enthusiastic about the project and consciously or otherwise began proselytizing for the project. The proselytizing undoubtedly did serve to recruit some additional people and to spread the word, but it also frightened many people and polarized some school faculties. In retrospect, the trainers feel that they underestimated the receptivity of this initial group and failed to move it as fast or as far as might then have been possible.

Also, the trainees later discovered that they had not prepared the necessary bridges or built their credibility with the less sympathetic stratum of the staff, so that they were not successful in bringing many other teachers along with them.

With the project under way, two further activities were planned. First was a "Phase II" follow-up workshop. The object of this workshop was to train certain original participants more intensively to deal with problems that were actually encountered in the schools. These 40 people were selected by (1) volunteering, (2) a vote of their peers, and (3) outside consultant staff approach (or veto). They were to be designated as change agents for the district, but because this title was onerous to the board, they adopted the sobriquet of process consultants.

The second activity to be arranged was the organization of a second Phase I workshop for those staff members who had not attended the first. This group of trainees included people who had wanted to attend the initial workshop but could not attend, those who had heard about the workshop activities from others who had attended and returned with glowing reports, and several school principals whose attendance had been "suggested" by the superintendent.

Reports from people who attended the second workshop tend to parallel those from people who attended the first, with one notable difference. It seems that the principals who were to attend fabricated one excuse after another and slipped away from the training sessions. One observer noted the absence of principals from Phase II training sessions and speculated that their absence might be attributable to the fact that (1) attendance at any Phase I session satisfied the mandate of the superintendent, and (2) principals fear the problem-solving activities at Phase II sessions because the entire problem-solving paradigm may be a threat to the principals' decisionmaking power. In addition, the firm's president, who had at this point not yet tired of the project, made a presentation to the group that the principals felt was doctrinaire and unwarranted. Judgments formed then have persisted among Bloomvale's administrators.

Organizational Characteristics

The project director had been working in an educational materials development center before her involvement with the project. At that time, she had been under the supervision of the curriculum coordinator in the district. When she was promoted to the position of project director, she achieved a new status in the district, possibly paralleling that of her former supervisor (separate office, increased responsibility, greater autonomy, etc.). During the second year of the project, the project director became seriously ill, and her duties and responsibilities were transferred to the curriculum coordinator. In effect, this gave the coordinator two jobs in the district, with little or no increase in prestige (from his perspective) or other rewards. As a result, the second year of the program passed with the person

who had been one of the few prime movers in the project absent from the schools and the responsibility for project leadership in the hands of someone who was indifferent to its success. In addition, the head of the firm who had been instrumental in Bloomvale's commitment to this approach got bored with Bloomvale when the same problems began to reappear with each new group of trainees and when the conflicts of interest among Bloomvale factions (conflicts that he regarded as petty) began to retard the dramatic change he felt was appropriate. Therefore, he withdrew and transferred the Bloomvale operation to two of his firm's part-time consultants, who then divided their energies between Bloomvale and their responsibilities as full-time university professors.

Whatever impetus the project had generated during its initial year was largely dispersed during its second year. Four Phase I training sessions were held during the second year, but since Bloomvale's most perceptive people had already been culled and since no major changes were made in the training seminars, these sessions lacked the impact of the first year. By this time, for example, the project had to begin to cope with the high school, which, as the base of the union's operations, contained a high proportion of teachers who were already quite vocally engaged in district decisionmaking and thus in possession of many of the skills and insights that the elementary school teachers had been so grateful to receive. The high school group was a much tougher nut to crack for a project with a goal of "shared decisionmaking." During the second year, plans were announced to divide the high school into three "houses." Although the notion of "houseplanning" had broad support among the teachers, those who were opposed to the idea raised the question of what share they would have in the decisionmaking process. When the organization of the high school was subsequently changed, despite this group's objections, the shared decisionmaking component of the project was denounced as a sham and a failure.

About the same time, the superintendent's analysis of leadership in the various component schools in Bloomvale led him to conclude that one school was in deep trouble. He decided to move Bloomvale's most successful (and most popular) principal from his current assignment to the troubled school. He knew that, if consulted, the man's current staff would object violently to losing their beloved leader, and he also knew that his systemwide responsibility required the transfer. In an attempt to minimize the inevitable friction, he moved the man on his own sole initiative. This action fanned doubts about the authenticity of the SDDP effort.

Plans for training parents and students during the second year of the project were not carried out, and by the end of that year, the involvement of parents and students in the project was insignificant. (Remember that one of the goals of the project was reduced student alienation, and that after two years most students were unaware of the existence of the project.)

Further deterioration of the project during the second year is evidenced by the fact that only one Phase II workshop was held during that time, and not until May.

Much of what happened in the project between its original implementation and the current version can probably be traced to the hiatus in project leadership stemming from the illness of its director and the growing disinterest of the firm's president. Situational factors (as always) intrude, and far from being petty they were the shape and substance of the challenges that the project had to overcome. The project director probably never had the hierarchical standing or the bureaucratic allies to overcome the resistance and hostility of the school principals, the teacher militants, or the teacher skeptics. Her illness compromised the best of the chances she might otherwise have had.

As for the consulting firm, there was simply never enough incentive for its president to bother with accompanying others down the path he had encouraged them on. The other consultants, while more diligent and even more skillful, also lacked the stature, continuity, and credibility necessary to more effective work in Bloomvale.

ADAPTATIONS

Goals and Objectives

The project was nominally born out of concern for student alienation and drug abuse, yet very little energy was expended directly on the students. Still, the wily high school students themselves initiated one of the project's adaptations by shifting from abusing drugs to abusing alcohol. Since alcohol is more socially acceptable and certainly lacks the tongue-clucking cachet of drug abuse, that focus of the project has receded even further.

Second, the project was originally designed to concentrate on the professional staff in its first year, the parents and students in its second year, and everyone together in its third year. This sequence was abandoned when the professional staff proved to be more resistant than predicted, and when the parents and students (who had never asked for the training or been involved in its planning or implementation) proved to be neither accessible to nor eager for the training.

The entire rationale for this project was one in which outside change agents would come in, stir things up, train some inside change agents to take over, and then depart, leaving them to finish the transformation of their own system. Thus, there should be palpable evidence of that shift of responsibility from the firm's personnel to district people. Although this adaptation is evident, its success is not. That is, while the firm has tried to shift responsibility, it has not yet been clearly assumed by Bloomvale people. Other than ordinary reluctance and misunderstanding, the adequacy of the training experience and continuing technical support provided by the firm must be questioned.

Treatment

There have been several changes in emphasis among the various sorts of treatment employed. The length of the workshops has been halved from their original 3 1/2 days to 2. The original plan had been to expose only enough people to the Phase I experience to generate a population suitable for Phase II cadre building. Since it was the Phase II cadres (change agents or process consultants as they came to be called) who were in fact to do the work in the schools, the consulting firm had argued for a concentration of resources on this smaller group. The superintendent, however, overrode the consultants, probably in order to make a wider distribution of the project's "benefits" among his staff. The net result, according to the trainers, was a dilution of the project's efforts.

A second dilution occurred when the "A groups" proved to be very popular among the Phase I participants. The A groups were simple exercises in superficial self-knowledge that resulted in sometimes dramatic but shallow insights among the trainees about themselves. Although they were easy to do, the consultants resisted providing them because they believed that the objective of the training should be systems change not personal growth. Still, their popularity created a demand that was filled, at the expense of more substantial efforts.

Both of the above changes moved in the same direction, simplifying the treatment and strategy. A third change contributed to that as well. On-site (i.e., school-located) consultation and assistance had been anticipated in the original plan, but the consultants resisted it as a fragmentation of their efforts and dysfunctional usurping of what was, after all, supposed to have been the process consultants' role. Instead, the firm instituted a series of weekly "supervisory seminars," located in the headquarters, where the consultants were to make themselves available for group problem-solving and trouble-shooting.

Management

The most important management adaptation probably deals with the interrupted career of the project director, who because of illness could not work in the project during its entire second year. Although most people agree that this was the most important year, "leadership" fell to someone who resented the additional work, had never liked the project, and had no incentive to see it succeed (during that year he arranged to leave Bloomvale for another district). Thus, the project foundered and this provided additional justification for the withdrawal of the consulting firm's president and the transfer of that responsibility to part-time employees. Finally, throughout this period, the superintendent who might initially have profited from the project's appearance of progress on important problems, became increasingly confident and established in his own right. When the board granted him and his deputy tenure status a year earlier than necessary as a reward for their services, whatever dependence the superintendent may have had on the project diminished still further.

The firm complained from the beginning about a lack of access to the school principals. Only the superintendent could have pressured their involvement (and such pressure could have been antithetical to the firm's volunteers). While the superintendent was unwilling to alienate the principals by moving more aggressively against them, it is true that the firm's president had himself alienated the principals by his performance in the workshops which they did attend.

The locus of responsibility for various actions has been a constant difficulty. The firm's increasingly frequent response to district requests for help was that whatever was being requested was exactly what it, the firm, wanted district people to be able to do for themselves. Thus, under the rubric of providing a "growth experience," the firm would toss the task back to the district. More recently, the same behavior is rationalized as "preparing the district for termination." Many people in the district felt that the firm's attitude was at least patronizing and probably irresponsible.

At the district level, the interim director's disinterest in supporting the project activities, following through, or providing even minimal coordination complicated an already difficult situation. The result has been a steady accretion in bureaucracy and a decrease in flexible cooperation and joint resolution.

With a single exception, the project seems not to have affected any of the standard role correlates of any of the people associated with it. The exception is the interim director, whose departure for another district was encouraged at least in part because of his peevish nonperformance in Bloomvale. Ironically, this

may have enhanced his career-boundedness, visibility, and chances of promotion. The firm's president, who has been the one person consistently in a position to make a difference in the project's outcome, will not, of course, have his thriving metropolitan practice diminished because of what he didn't do for suburban Bloomvale.

NEAR-TERM BEHAVIORAL CHANGE

In discussing the extent of change that the project has introduced, one factor needs to be kept in mind. Bloomvale was already a relatively healthy system. Most of its employees and residents are very happy to be there. This factor deprived the project of much felt need for change or of much stress on which to build. The drug abuse problem went away, the contract negotiations finally ended, and a new superintendent took over--three factors that further deflated the impetus of change.

Still, the project has had some successes. Before discussing them, it is well to point out that the area of the greatest success appears to have been unanticipated; at least it was not featured very prominently in the proposal or other project materials. The fact is that this project seems to have made more of a difference in faculty teaching behavior than it has in their decisional participation, which was the project's most prominently featured goal; Phase II was clearly aimed at decisional participation. Yet the most dramatic and extensive changes have come from the Phase I intervention and have manifested themselves in the classroom, not the committee room.

Organizational Changes

There is some evidence of improved communications among levels within the educational system. For example, some 7th grade teachers are visiting an elementary school to discuss with the teachers how to ease the transition of the 6th graders into junior high school. There is some shared decisionmaking, in that the staff facilitating committees have been established, but these committees meet infrequently, and no one recalls when a principal actually asked these committees for guidance in decisionmaking.

One principal praised the staff facilitating committee at his school, but then pointed out that (1) he had planned such a committee on his own and (2) the committee hadn't really been that active. However, the committees have, in the third year of the project, given parents and students a small role in the operation of the project.

In addition to these school-based committees, Bloomvale now has for the first time a districtwide curriculum coordinating committee. Although the committee was initiated by the superintendent and not the project, the superintendent credits the project with having made its introduction an easier matter. The committee has resulted in some student-initiated changes in the high school curriculum.

Administrator Changes

In addition to praising the facilitating role of the project, the system's top administrators also claim that their personal style has been affected by the project (although, given those styles, it seems unlikely that the project did more than perfect performance). The principals are less generous. Those who voluntarily sought the training acknowledge that it had some value. The majority who were not trained or who were trained under duress report that the district did not need the project and that its effects have been negligible. When pressed to comment on changes, principals may mention something but just as quickly add that they introduced it or that it was not really different from what they had been doing all along. Observers believe that some principals took project resources and used them for activities and purposes identical with those of the project, all the while protesting loudly that what they were doing was "not SDDP" and had "nothing to do with SDDP!" In the final analysis, it is the extremely control-oriented group of principals who have the most to lose by SDDP's success. SDDP never got to them, but they have been most instrumental in blocking SDDP's progress.

Teacher/Trainee Changes

Most of the people who had participated in the training experience during the first year of the program reported significant behavioral change. Not only were they better able to relate to their peers, especially those who had also received the training, but also they reported being better able to relate to their students. They had not really acquired any new teaching skills but had learned new ways of dealing with students interpersonally. (Teachers, too, often reported that they had changed, but then hastened to add that they had "always" been innovative.) The area of change most often reported (teaching style and teacher/student interaction) is certainly central to the teacher's pedagogical role performance, but it is not so central to the decisionmaking styles that characterize Bloomvale. Nonetheless, more humanely conducted classes are an important benefit.

Extent of Change

Closer to the project's agenda, it is worth noting that only 68 people (less than one-fourth of Bloomvale's teaching staff) have completed both Phase I and Phase II of the training. Estimates of the extent of change or the effectiveness of the intervention vary from 30 to 50 teachers thoroughly equipped as process consultants. The lower figure is probably closer to the truth. The project director believes that about 10 percent of the staff is now in possession of the competencies that the project set out to communicate. Given the low rate at which any training is mobilized or applied, it should be clear the Bloomvale schools are far short of the one-quarter to one-third change agent to total faculty ratio that most observers felt was the minimum critical mass for change. The high school faculty of 100, for example, has only 8 to 10 successfully trained process consultants. (The high school has suffered some not uncommon reverses in that many of its originally enthusiastic group of true believers were made to feel that they had been duped when unilateral decisions and actions ensued. They now constitute a group of withdrawn and jaded former radicals who are determined not to be "taken in again.")

Student and Parent Involvement

Hardly any students have been involved in any project activities. Those that have been are for the most part exactly the sort of already overextended, over-utilized activists who populate school government. Most students were unaware of the project until the beginning of the final year, and the project's techniques appear extremely unlikely to overcome the problems of apathy, differing interests, and transience that are endemic to student involvement. Parent involvement is already viewed with alarm by most teachers since Bloomvale's parents are perennially voluble in pursuit of parental overfondness even in the absence of the project. It is little wonder that the project has done next to nothing in this area.

CONTINUATION

The changed teaching that has resulted from the project seems very likely to continue in Bloomvale for the reason that it does elsewhere--teachers like it, perceive it as an improvement, and view "going back" with distaste.

The project, as such, is unlikely to survive the end of the money. The project director has already begun to reconcile herself to a return to her former responsibilities. The training, which cost money to provide through outside consultants

and money to support through stipends to the trainees, is unlikely to be continued because of these costs. The union will not relent and allow such activities to be done without pay or on "the teachers' time." Thus, what changes do persist will continue to the extent that the process consultants can find a way to work either around or with their school principals.

The district leadership may, in fact, assist in this situation. There are plans to continue the weekly meetings of the process consultants, although the trouble-shooting technical assistance will, in the future, be internally generated. The school-level facilitating committees will also be continued, although given their feeble achievements they don't look like a bright hope for the future. Overall, the board seems in retrospect to have found the project's activities not nearly as radical and disrupting as it had feared. The superintendent has found the project mildly useful. Between the board and the superintendent, they have set aside $5000 to support a selective continuation of SDDP activities following the lines described above.

Two or three years from now, the picture is less clear. The president of the consulting firm predicts a washout as high as 75 percent. Certainly, the residual and structural features of the project are not likely to be very important in the absence of the participatory process skills that proved so difficult to communicate. The brightest spot probably is the unanticipated and persistent changes in teaching behavior.

DISSEMINATION/DIFFUSION

Whatever diffusion has occurred has been internal to the district. The teaching changes and the curriculum council are two examples of project spin-offs. In addition, the district now uses a self-evaluation procedure to assess the performance of its administrators, which is related to the kinds of things the project tried to encourage. The leadership of the superintendent's cabinet is also rotated weekly through all the members. One week, an individual is assigned the task of keeping a record of the group's problem-solving process; the next week that individual is responsible for the conduct of the meeting. The relationship to project-sponsored activities is clear.

The dissemination of the project's techniques or results has been consciously hampered by the state department of education's injunction against such activities until the project can be validated according to officially sanctioned procedures. This validation assessment is scheduled for 1974-75. In light of the specific

enjoinder against dissemination, it is not surprising that the only outside exposure the project has had has been a presentation to the state chapter of the American Society for Curriculum Development.

METRO CITY

Dale Mann

INITIATION

Metro City is part of a large northeastern metropolitan area. In the early 1960s private interests began construction of a completely new complex of enormous, mainly high-rise apartment buildings at the edge of the city limits. The isolation of the site, the awesome scale of the buildings, their newness, and their planned and packaged characteristics distinguish the complex. Many of the residents of the cooperative apartments moved there to get away from the lower class blacks and Puerto Ricans who succeeded the whites in their previous core-city neighborhoods. The planning, construction, and operation of the schools for this complex, as well as all of the projects within these schools, are affected by these factors. The residents' own recent social and geographic experience translates into an expressed concern to create, maintain, and protect "their" schools. Their own financial investment and the physical circumstances of the site reinforce that intention.

Why Initiate?

The school planners of Metro City thought that the creation of a totally new "community" was an unprecedented opportunity. They therefore determined to build a consolidated, multischool (kindergarten through 12th grade) educational park on a single site to serve the entire complex. Educational parks had been widely touted as the solution to urban education problems. The excellence and diversity of brand-new, centralized facilities was supposed to placate the discontents of minority populations with their dilapidated facilities and provide the quality education necessary to encourage whites to allow their children to attend integrated schools. The park could be built to incorporate all of the physical technology to support innovative practices. Demountable walls, clustered classrooms, "learning centers," and a range of shared, centralized, and specialized facilities could all support teacher behavior in innovative directions. (Thus, this case offers a chance to discuss the relative contributions of a training intervention and of physical environment in changing teacher behavior.) Although "parks" were widely ballyhooed, the one in operation in Metro City is the only such comprehensive facility ever

completed. The $70 million cost of Metro's park emphasizes why it is hard to abandon existing facilities.

The park site includes six schools. A combined high-rise high school, central administration, and shared-facilities building is at the center. Three elementary schools and two intermediate schools occupy alternate places in a ring around the central building. The schools, none of which is more than 50 yards from the next, are all connected by walkways and underground passageways through the shared-facilities area, which includes auditoriums, pools, shops, etc. The sole exception is an elementary school that was constructed to serve a group of buildings, which, because of the uneven development of the complex's total site, is separated from the rest of the complex by about a mile of land-fill, rubble, and vacant land. Predictably, but ironically, the parents from that otherwise identical section of the complex objected to having their children bussed one mile to the educational park.

The physical circumstances are important: they were the impetus for the original training proposals, they are the context and the challenge for the project's trainers and trainees, and they represent a rare chance to assess the comprehensive implementation of a grand educational idea.

Building the educational park obviously stimulated the planning officials responsible for schools in that area of Metro City. The planners wanted the schools to offer the gamut of schooling forms (from traditional classrooms to individualized instruction). They also wanted the curriculum to recognize the ethnic and racial diversity of the Metro area. Thus, they formulated a training plan dealing with both educational personnel and community people that would facilitate provision of a diversity of teaching/learning experiences pointed at heterogeneity. (See below.)

Proposal Writers

Metro schools are partly centralized and partly decentralized. The training proposal was pushed by staff members in the decentralized headquarters office and supported by the area superintendent. The area administrators also invited a team of planners from one of the Northeast's most prestigious universities. This team, the area officials, and early residents of the complex formed a committee to assist with and monitor the development of the proposal. The committee also included representatives from the teaching staff of each of the schools that eventually would become the training population. However, because of teacher union regulations and other complications, it was not possible to tell in advance of

the opening of a given school exactly who its staff would be. Some of the early teacher representatives to the planning committee were therefore recruited into the project as teacher trainers. Both the area superintendent and the person chiefly responsible for the proposal's development have retired, and the project's implementation has been the responsibility of their successors.

In-service training, workshops, and groups dealing with cultural diversity were not in themselves innovations in Metro City; but the creation and concentration of a training staff to deal with an entirely new complex of schools was. The activities that were proposed for the training group (and the outcomes expected from the training) were very ambitious, more ambitious in fact than could be achieved. The ambition of the proposal is probably explained by the desire to fulfill the residents' vociferously expressed educational agenda, optimism about the clean slate circumstances of the educational park, the enthusiasm of the consultants, and of course an element of grantsmanship over-sell. Thus, the proposal included something for everyone, and alternatives were not so much considered as simply incorporated.

Selection of Trainees

The selection of participants was also governed by the park's physical development. All the schools in the park were to have been training sites. Within schools the principals largely determined the application of the in-service training resources. After-school, Saturday, and summer training events were to be open to anyone who volunteered to attend.

Support/Opposition

Since the training activities were clearly supplemental resources during the difficult process of opening new schools, there was no opposition to the initiation of the project. There is some hostility or jealousy from schools in the district outside the park on the grounds that park schools are "favored." People in the park deny this. The fact that everyone was new to this particular group of schools and to each other made the relatively narrow circle of participants in the project initiation phase less important than it might otherwise have been.

Adoption Process Model

The initiation process was a combination of equal amounts of the rational "problem-solving/R&D process model" and the "opportunistic response model."

The park's planners clearly anticipated the need for some staff training geared to the overall "philosophy" of the park. They knew they would be hard-pressed to create a unified team from among the staffs of six different schools, and the training proposal was clearly a response to that need. The presence of the university consultants may have contributed to the rational consideration of alternatives. But an equally important stimulus was the simple existence of a chance to get money for a relatively new idea. It must certainly have occurred to the original planners that the notion of a socially desegregated, vertically integrated, big-city education park would be very marketable in Washington. The area superintendent's office was already experienced in grantsmanship, and thus it was a natural response to turn to Title III for support.

Baseline Characteristics

The schools in the education park serve a little less than one-fourth of all the students in this Metro City decentralized area district. (The district itself is a $25 million a year operation, which is, according to the area superintendent's estimate, less difficult to manage than many of the others in Metro.)

The complex houses 15,000 families who are mainly lower middle class and middle class. To provide a racial balance closer to that which characterizes the rest of the district, a low-income housing project located across the expressway (and accessible to the park only by a single pedestrian overpass) was zoned into the park attendance area. The children from this area, who are bussed to the schools, bring the race and ethnic breakdown of the schools to 38 percent black and Puerto Rican and 62 percent white. There are 2800 elementary school children in the four elementary schools, 2500 in the two intermediate schools, and 1300 in the high school (which does not yet have a full complement of classes).

The buildings are, of course, brand new, and the range and quality of the physical plant opportunities are fabulous. It would be very difficult to imagine any significant innovation in American education in the last 15 years that has not been incorporated into the plant or that the plant could not accommodate. To take a single example, in order to facilitate the creation of mini-schools (or a "house" plan) in the high school, each floor of the high school has its own self-contained food service operation.

The staff characteristics resemble those of other schools on the outskirts of Metro City. Because union contracts govern teacher transfers, the schools in the complex tend to be staffed by teachers who are more experienced and older than their inner-city counterparts. Similarly, because the park is a desirable

place to teach (it is jokingly referred to as the "country club" by those who do not work there), teacher turnover is lower than elsewhere. The stability of the staff contributes to the rationale for a training program here (as elsewhere now that demand for new teachers has dropped) because the system's teaching/learning characteristics cannot be changed by replacing personnel. The park has to work with what it has.

The district does have substantial amounts of other special funding, about half a dozen Title I projects. These projects are not available to the park, but they are significant as evidence of an active and supportive district administration. In addition, special money goes to personnel costs; evidently, the reluctance of some districts to incur personnel obligations with "soft" money, which they may not be able to continue to meet, does not apply in this district. The explanation may lie in the highly bureaucratized nature of personnel transactions in Metro, in the greater sophistication of its administrators, or in the wall of anonymity fostered by the city itself.

The pupil performance characteristics are about what one would expect given the demography of the place. The dominant culture for the apartment complex is Jewish, and most of the rest are upwardly mobile people who put emphasis on education. This emphasis, and the word "accountability," have a real impact, since the five-school complex is directly visible from about 4000 of the apartments that tower over it. In any case, the students in the complex tend to do well on the Metropolitan Achievement Test and other similar measures.

CURRENT OPERATIONS

Project Characteristics

The project is now in its third and final year. The disruptions attendant on opening six schools in a new community with a new staff plus the discontinuities of personnel changes in the superintendency and the project administration are all reflected in the changes that have been made over the life of the project. (These changes are discussed in the "Original Implementation" and "Adaptations" sections below.)

Goals and Objectives. The current goals of the project--as they can be deduced from its operations--are as follows:

1. To support and sometimes to encourage individualization or at least differentiation of instruction.

2. To support the more general improvement of teaching practices.
3. To support racial and cultural heterogeneity.
4. To achieve the above objectives through teacher training in the elementary and intermediate schools.

The first goal seems to be regarded as the most important by the most people. The project's goals as they now operate represent two compromises with reality. First, it may be more acceptable to help teachers individualize who are already so inclined; certainly it is less difficult than proselytizing among those not so inclined. (It is also possible that greater change results; for a discussion of the efficiency of this strategy, see below.) Thus the project focuses more attention on "support" than "encouragement." Second, true individualization is regarded as a logistic impossibility by many teachers. Thus the project deals with differentiation to smaller groups as much as it does with individualization.

The second goal seemingly represents the support of any departure from traditional teaching patterns. The teacher trainers seem happy to try any deviation from the stand-up-sit-down, chairs-in-a-row, I-talk-you (all)-listen format. Thus the training works to encourage "centers" in classrooms, prescriptions, contracts, team teaching, cross-age tutoring, and audiovisual usage, sometimes without respect to the relation of these technologies to individualization.

Respect for, tolerance for, facility with racial and cultural heterogeneity is decidedly subordinate to the other goals. The goal sets vary among schools and also among the project staff, but on the whole there is far less attention to this than to the other goals in the project's current configuration. The amount and visibility of material promoting ethnic and racial consciousness varies greatly from school to school although the demography of the schools is roughly constant. Some of the principals are unaware that this is a purpose of the project.

The fourth goal, a concentration on working with elementary and intermediate school teachers, is also partially a means. However, people in the project have made a conscious choice to focus on staff development (at the partial expense of community development) and on the lower grades (rather than the high school), and because that decision governs the project's resource allocations, it should be noted.

Goal Centrality and Consonance. Goal centrality cannot be discussed since the schools did not exist before the project began. The educational park was, however, created with a consistent philosophy and that philosophy has been used, more or less, to guide the development of the park. Not surprisingly, the park's philosophy

is exactly congruent with the project's goals as they were originally stated--the provision of a range of teaching/learning options and a respect for heterogeneity.

The current goals, as deduced from the project's operations, reflect the usual amalgam. The individual principals affect what is tried in their schools, the trainers largely determine what is offered, and the trained teachers determine what is implemented. To that should be added the effect of the park's current director who is a de facto superintendent for the six schools. He has diminished the principals' influence over project activities and attempted to change the menu and emphasis of what is offered by the trainers.

The project strategy has several parts. The staff has six teacher trainers, ten paraprofessional education assistants, and a director. In addition, the project has made use of as many as 75 parent and community volunteers.

Treatment. Project activities fall into two categories, in-service and other. The in-service assistance is rendered by project staff members who are assigned from the office of the park director to work over the course of a year with two or more schools. The teacher trainers move from school to school according to a schedule. Within each school they concentrate their assistance to teachers who have been identified by the principal or by the assistant principal. In some schools the trainers work with those thought to be in the most need of help, in others with those who are most sympathetic to change, and in others with those who volunteer or are identified through the project's other activities. At this time, the trainers are often approached for assistance by teachers who hear about their work from others with whom the trainers have been meeting.

Staff Development. In general, the in-service training process begins when the trainer is available to visit the teacher's classroom and observe. This may result either in suggestions or in the demonstration of alternate methods (including teaching classes or working with individual students). Regardless of the exact path of the interaction, there is agreement among the trainers that this part of the process cannot be rushed; it should be seen as a no-threat, no-evaluation situation; it should be clearly separated from line/staff supervision, the principal's evaluation process, etc.; it should only be helpful; and it should not result in more work for the teacher. Building this relationship takes some time and is often facilitated by the trainer's actually taking over some classroom chores, which he then modifies.

During the current year, a given teacher, or group of teachers, will be visited on a weekly basis for a few hours per visit until the desired result is evident or until the actual results fail to justify the training. This takes the better part of a

semester in most cases. The trainers also spend considerable time either developing or adapting curriculum materials for use in particular situations. Making these materials available is a way to support the desired behavior of the teacher and a way to elicit teacher cooperation in return.

Teacher trainers operate autonomously within the project, so it is difficult to describe how trainers make use of time. One trainer works with two groups of four teachers each to encourage interdisciplinary team teaching. This trainer feels that she must concentrate her efforts on specific groups if her work is to have an effect. She therefore selected the teachers she would work with on the basis of their apparent receptivity to training. Because of this arrangement, she is not available to all teachers, but is willing to help other teachers if they request her help. In the absence of other directives from her principal, she now concentrates her efforts on these two teams on a daily basis. Her main activity is to develop materials for these teachers to use and emulate. She emphasized the fact that modifying teacher behavior was a more difficult task at intermediate schools than at the elementary level, since the former teachers see four or five times more kids per day. However, change can occur if help is given in the classroom (trainer, paraprofessional) and time is allowed for modified classroom practices to develop.

In contrast with this concentrated effort, another of the teacher trainers visits four of the six schools in the park on a rotating basis. His primary instructional role is to demonstrate the use of audiovisual equipment as an instructional device in the classroom. Unlike his intermediate school counterpart, he is told by his principal which teachers could profit from his assistance. Apparently, the principal has taken an interest in this trainer's activities because of an unpleasant confrontation with community members at a public meeting. The community people knew of the existence of the Title III project, but could see no evidence of it. This trainer was then assigned to visit large numbers of teachers in order to increase the number of teachers who have begun to come to him to ask for help. The flexibility in his daily schedule is evidenced by the fact that he has time to respond to all of these requests.

In another instance, a trainer meets one hour a day with a paraprofessional to teach the use of Survey of Reading Achievement (SRA) kits and other packaged instructional materials. In another, the teacher trainer meets with the teacher for weekly half-hour sessions to discuss problems. In still another, one teacher trainer sets up a student tutor program in which older students tutor younger ones in basic skills areas.

There has been no firmly outlined schedule for the teacher trainers to follow, nor has one developed during the course of the project. Rather, each principal dictates (by design or by default) what the teacher trainer's role will be and the trainer responds accordingly.

The in-service assistance from the traveling trainers takes up most of their time and energy. In addition, however, the training strategy calls for other sorts of training experiences. In the first two years, these included five-day summer workshops for volunteers whose attendance was paid. More recently, the training staff has organized and sponsored three Saturday conferences or meetings, open to all the schools' staff and the community. The workshops have dealt with individualization of instruction, "deformalized" education, and other similar topics. In addition to these activities, the training group also assists with school open houses (which are on a park basis) and with advisory groups.

Materials. The staff uses whatever materials come to its attention. These include teacher-made materials, which they encourage; some of the training staff adapts or pirates commercial materials. There is not, however, a "park plan" in the sense of an orthodoxy that is supported by a lot of materials specifically developed for that purpose. The emergence of a common approach, and the stabilization of a set of supporting materials, would probably by now be a fact except for the way in which the trainers' resources were employed during the project's initial years.

Management. There is only a loose table of organization within the project. The fact that individual principals tend to dictate, directly or indirectly, the activities of the teacher trainers, coupled with the low leadership profile assumed by the project director, tends to obviate any rigid organizational structure. In fact, several teacher trainers and paraprofessionals gather together daily for lunch in the project director's office. During these meetings, there is no evidence that anyone is aware of any hierarchical structure among those present. This absence of a clear-cut organizational table does not seem to bother anyone in the project. The project director is content to take care of the housekeeping/maintenance kinds of activities; the trainers enjoy the freedom to operate independently of immediate supervision; and the teachers in the park feel that they can get help from the project personnel should they want or need it.

The management of the project is clearly the responsibility of the director of the park although the housekeeping decisions are made by the project (not park) director. The director of the park has to implement the "park philosophy," which means among other things getting all the six school principals and their staffs to

work toward a set of shared goals and with the means determined to be the most efficient and useful. Even in the park, the principal is a feudal baron inside his school castle. Control over the training staff is one of the few institutional resources (or rewards, or bargaining counters, or agents) at the park director's disposal. Thus, the big changes in the project's resource allocations have been made by the park director. (See below, "Adaptations.") Most of the lesser operational decisions are, however, subject to the negotiation and influence of the principals, or assistant principals with the project director and/or with the teacher trainer assigned to a particular school.

The teacher-trainee group is not now significantly involved in the project's operations, nor are any administrative echelons above the park director. The advisory groups are exactly that, partially advisory and mainly symbolic.

Evaluation. Project evaluation is done under contract to a Metro City educational consulting group. The group's evaluation procedures stress summative assessment and are geared to the laundry list of "product outcomes" that have appeared in each of the proposals. The evaluation itself is audited with respect to design, procedural sufficiency, validity, and reliability by a separate contract to the field research arm of a local graduate school of education.

Complexity. In its current state, the project is not very complicated. All of the identifiable stages of a training process have long since become routinized. There are now several ways that a trainee can enter the process, a number of procedures and techniques that can be applied, and a way to break off the relationship. Since the demand for in-service assistance outruns the available resources, there is neither time nor inclination to elaborate or extend the procedural methods. If the in-service doesn't "take" on a given teacher or fails to achieve all of its goals, the trainer can and, in fact, must move on.

Amount of Change Required. According to the teachers, no very substantial departures from past practice are ordinarily required, because trainee selection methods (principal nomination of sympathetic individuals) help guarantee some familiarity with the instructional purposes and techniques of the project. For most teachers who are selected, incorporating these procedures is an incremental, not a radical, change. A vigorous pursuit of the project's cultural heterogeneity goals would, however, involve substantial change.

The building designs help with the extent of change. It is difficult to sustain nontraditional pedagogy (team teaching, individually programmed instruction, etc.) in the ordinary 35-pupil classroom. The problems of coordination, pupil movement, and logistics fall easy prey to the faculty's informal sanctions for innovators.

But the flexibility of these buildings allows the trainees and/or the trained teachers to be grouped or clustered together where they can freely sustain or support each other. Thus, it has been possible to concentrate staff development on smaller groups than is feasible elsewhere--all 2nd and 3rd grade teachers along a corridor, for example.

Place of Change. The project's experience clearly demonstrates the superior efficacy of on-site, literally in-service training over the off-site variety.

Organizational and Personal Characteristics

Communications. The project's operations are quite informally conducted. Communications are interpersonal and informal rather than bureaucratized. Requests for trainer assistance, for example, go from the teacher directly to the trainer who then tries to accommodate the request within the schedule of visits. Bigger decisions, for example, to concentrate on all the teachers at a certain grade level, involve the individual school's administration but are also informal. The ease of communication probably contributes to the success of the project in that teachers do not have to document their "need" for assistance, or otherwise call attention to the fact that they are asking for help. To that extent, the trainees do participate in decisions about the project (except for evaluation), although as it is currently operated, overall policy decisions are clearly the province of the park director.

Organizational Capacity. The community district headquarters, the park directors, and the principals have a lot of previous experience with innovation. The park director especially has a record of successful grantsmanship with special projects and, when he became park director, he brought along some people who had worked on special projects in the school where he had been the principal. A few of the participating principals claimed considerable success in "deformalizing" instruction in their previous schools (without soft money).

Risk. It is hard to know whether or not this group would take on a high-risk/high-gain project. The more sophisticated team members might, since their experience has familiarized them with the ambiguities of change and thus the distinct possibility that practically any project can be ballyhooed regardless of its success or failure.

Ancillary Effects. The personal reactions of the trainers were mixed. Five of the six interviewed were quite enthusiastic about their jobs and thought they were making a contribution. Most seemed indifferent about the status aspects of their jobs as trainers, although there was some reluctance about the prospect of going

"back" to solely classroom responsibilities. For two of the six, the project had been an important career opportunity. Their future opportunities, visibility, and status had been enhanced and they were pleased by that. One had entered a doctoral program, and the other had increased his professional engagement far above its former level. The majority of the project staff were not so affected.

Administrators' Roles. The park director is the administrator most obviously responsible for the project. He is white, about 45 years old, with a long background in the Metro City schools. Before coming to the park, he was the highly regarded principal of a very volatile, but nonetheless effective, school. In a system where the responsibility for organizing, staffing, and opening a new school is usually regarded as the capstone of a career, he had already opened two new middle schools before coming to the park. This experience served as very relevant training for his current responsibility and has also helped with his promotion to this job. He chose to become park director rather than superintendent of a community district, although it seems unlikely that he will decline the latter post again. He is career-bound and sensitive to the policy issues that are the substance of his professional role. None of his salary is from project funds, and probably not more than 20 percent of his time is devoted to its activities. Much of his attention is still consumed by logistical and construction details, since the facility is in its final throes of construction. Other major tasks include coordinating the efforts of the various schools toward the park's philosophy, adjudicating disputes, running interference with the other Metro bureaucracies, and trying to cajole cooperation from the individual principals.

The project director, who is responsible for the day-to-day operation and supervision of the training staff, is a middle-aged black. She does not make any of the decisions about the utilization of her staff (those decisions are made either informally between teachers and trainers or by the park director and the principals). Her responsibility is that of coordinating and/or facilitating, which seems an appropriate role since she is, by all accounts, "genteel" in the traditional, noncombatant, nondirective sense. Before joining the staff after the proposal was funded, she had been a classroom teacher in the park and had had some experience in training paraprofessionals. She averred ignorance about either who had selected her for her current position, or why. She shows little personal identification with the project. She was aware of but disinterested in issues of educational change above the level of routine, almost housekeeping, interaction. Although paid entirely from the project, she does not seem to be interested in continuing in a supervisory capacity. None of the interviewees had

anything but kind things to say about her, and her implacable amiability is probably a functional complement to the park director's style. Certainly the principals would object to anyone more aggressive in a position that already threatens the "instructional leadership" role that several profess for themselves. Still, there is a distinct sense that something is missing in leadership and stimulation at this level of the project.

Trainee Characteristics. The trainees in the project reflect the characteristics of the teacher population of Metro City. Most are white, middle class, and Jewish, who hold an advanced degree, and have from eight to twelve years' teaching experience. Many of the trainees requested transfers to the park from schools in other parts of the district. Their reasons for wanting to teach in the park varied. Some simply wanted "out" of the schools they were in; others wanted less travel to and from work and a chance to work in an improved environment. In one case, a teacher, a trained rabbi, asked for a transfer to the park because he wanted to teach Hebrew, a subject that was not offered elsewhere in the district.

Selection. Since it is impossible to coerce or even cajole a teacher in Metro City to do anything not specified in the union contract, the interviewees were a self-selected group. All of the teachers who agreed to be interviewed had taken part in the training that was offered. The extent to which the teachers had responded to the training varied from the case of a teacher who espoused total "openness" to one who expressed a belief in "structured freedom." Those teachers who were trained tended to be outspoken and willing to take risks. Many of them reported that they had been innovative teachers even before the project began, but that the teacher trainers gave them additional skills and acted as catalysts to induce change.

At the outset of the project, the park director chose nine paraprofessionals to work within the park. These paras were largely selected from the community served by the park, but, since paraprofessionals have a contract similar to the teachers', some of the paras had to be hired because of their seniority in the district. A few of these had held jobs in the district under a state urban aid grant that expired at the time paraprofessional recruitment/selection at the park was beginning. As a result, paras who had been "excessed" out of other schools in the district came to the park. All of the paras interviewed had received training, probably because the administrator hiring them had suggested it and because they are more open to "suggestions" than are teachers. The paraprofessionals are very happy with the training that they received, and have organized a monthly meeting with the project director to share their experiences and ideas. The project

director is enthusiastic about this arrangement and welcomes the opportunity to talk with them, often giving help and encouragement. (Note the contrast here between the relationship between the project director and the paras and that between the project director and the teacher trainers.)

Volunteers. Although the notion of parental involvement in the park was inherent in the original plan of the project, community parents have been a part of the project in only a marginal way. Although there is a parents' advisory council, the major involvement of the community appears to be in cake sales, clothing drives, and the preparation of a multiethnic cookbook.

ORIGINAL IMPLEMENTATION

Goals

The original goals and objectives of the project were quite different from those that now guide it. Some respondents simply acknowledged the shift; others defended the shift by citing "realism" and the pressures on the project; only one denied that there had been any changes.

The original goals as reflected in the proposal had two practically coequal components: one dealing with educational diversity; the other dealing with cultural, ethnic, and racial heterogeneity. The first goal has been diluted and the second abandoned and replaced by an emphasis on innovation.

Treatment

The educational diversity goal was part of the planners' intentions to allow all parents in the complex a choice on the sort of instruction their children would have:

- Option I was to be characterized by "whatever sort of instruction the teacher feels is best."
- Option II was to be continuous progress, nongraded team teaching with parent involvement.
- Option III was to be Piagetian developmental psychology with vertical age groups, a nonprescriptive curriculum, and a British Open School format.

The park's facilities would have accommodated the provision of these "sub-schools" within each school, but it seemed unlikely to the planners that the staff

would be competent in all the necessary approaches--hence, the training proposal. However, although for once the federal money arrived in time, the park failed to open on schedule. When it did open, the community superintendent, the proposal writer, and the original park director had all moved on. Construction delays pushed the school openings far out of phase with the opening of the apartment buildings, with the consequence that each of the new schools inevitably opened with extreme overcrowding on top of the usual problems. Before providing parents a menu of instructional styles, it proved necessary to place kids in whatever classes were available. In addition, educators began to worry about the prospects of wholesale shifts in parent preferences. What if 500 Option II mothers suddenly wanted Option I for September? Thus, although there is now a range of teaching styles in most of the elementary and intermediate schools, that range is a naturally occurring phenomenon, and is not abetted by project efforts to satisfy parent demands.

A second goal had to do with fostering respect and understanding for racial and ethnic heterogeneity. Goals of that sort are rather amorphous, but project personnel have been very conscientious in stating components of the goal as behavioral objectives for the students and teachers. In addition, there were to be such tangible products in this area as curriculum packages (most of which have indeed been produced on or near schedule). The problem was that the pursuit of ethnic and racial diversity got edged out both by the more immediate and practical demands of opening the new buildings and by the strength of the feelings expressed by many of the parents. (These forces are explained in greater detail below under "Adaptations.")

As originally implemented, the most discrete project activity appears to have been the preservice summer workshop for volunteers from the teaching staff of the new schools. The proposal had anticipated that a majority of the staff, including administrators, would participate in the workshops. Instead, less than a third showed up. Teacher union rules in Metro City preclude any assignments for teachers outside of working days and working hours. Although the volunteers were paid a $3 per hour stipend and in spite of some "suggestions" about attendance from the administrators, relatively few took part. Attendance was also diminished because some of the teachers for the new school had not been identified or recruited at the time of the workshops.

Emphasis

These difficulties immediately drove project activities away from the proposal conception, and they were compounded as the new school buildings began to operate. At the beginning of the project, there were more trainers than buildings and there was a strongly felt need to provide assistance to the few hard-pressed buildings. Thus, the former project director was able to concentrate the trainees' resources by assigning one or more full-time trainers to a single building. And, being cooperative people in extraordinary circumstances, the trainers were glad to help out almost whenever they were asked. Through this natural process, some of the principals began to perceive some of the trainers as simply extra classroom teachers.

Beyond that, there is the fact that most principals subscribe to their profession's rhetoric that requires them to be "instructional leaders" and to devote considerable time themselves to teacher training. Thus, an "outsider" full-time teacher trainer appearing in the school just when the principal is trying to "establish control" and "create" a staff is very likely to be viewed as a threat to the principal's autonomy and leadership role. One way for the trainers to defuse that threat and to demonstrate their cooperativeness was simply to go along pretty much with whatever utilization their principals chose for them. Despite substantial changes, one principal still regarded the trainer not as a trainer, but rather as a fractional classroom teacher who was to cover some classes. This attitude demonstrates the effect of exigency and social sanctions in moving a project toward greater responsiveness to the site but away from its original purposes.

Of course, the stated goals of the project did not change in the early stages. But the project's real purpose--to assist the park to get into operation--could not have been closer to the operational goals of the park at that time.

The original implementation version of the project focused heavily on professional staff development (curriculum development came later). Part of the summer workshops had parent involvement as their purpose, but the early experience was not successful. At the early stages, the project seems to have been operated quite simply, partly because the stated purposes of the project were not pursued very vigorously.

Since in the beginning the project was largely determined by the principals to whom the trainers were assigned, the project's management must have been a relatively straightforward matter. No role characteristics of any of the project personnel could be expected to change as a result of the project's early experience.

ADAPTATIONS

The project seems almost classic in the transformations it has gone through in response to the demands of the implementation site. Despite those transformations, the evidence from the various evaluations indicates that many of its original purposes were in fact achieved. This evidence is discussed in the following sections. This section summarizes the project/site adaptations. The adaptations may be described in terms of (1) the change necessitated by the opening of the buildings, and (2) the movement back in the direction of the project's original purposes with the new park director.

Goals

The original goals of providing educational diversity (the three-option program) and cultural and racial heterogeneity disappeared in the crush to get the schools operating. Overcrowding, the disorienting effect of a new environment, the "capturing" of the training staff by the principals, the union restrictions, apprehensions about the fickleness of parent preferences--all forced the project efforts away from the original conception. The parent involvement aspect was never seriously pursued. One reason for this is the usual educator's apprehension about loss of control to interfering amateurs. This apprehension was probably reinforced by the extreme proximity of the parents' apartments (school switchboards apparently light up like Christmas trees if the children appear on the playground on a day that even threatens rain). The vulnerability of a new school, the volubility of some community groups in the area, and the volatility of a bussed-in population of lower income blacks (exactly what most of the complex's residents were trying to escape) moved the parent involvement component way down on everyone's priority list.

Means

Thus, the sparsely attended out-of-school-hours workshops gave way to on-the-job assistance. Concentrated or formal training (in-service courses) gave way to informal help in order to establish trust between the trainers and trainees. The population to be trained shifted from the schools' staffs (unidentified) to those who would volunteer or ask for assistance. In those few instances when principals designated a weak teacher for special attention by the trainers, the teacher was usually inexperienced and thus weak politically as well. An exception to the

pattern is the case in which the principal decided to concentrate the trainer's assistance on a specific grade level.

Thus, in this initial period, the management characteristics, the complexity of the project, and the amount and extent of the change that may be expected were all markedly simplified. The press of circumstances and the power of the principals both caused a decentralization of project activities to the various buildings.

Other changes included the shift from individualization of instruction to an emphasis on the differentiation of instruction to small groups. This change is probably an excellent example of the gap between the trainer's intentions and actions (to foster individualization) and the teacher's prerogative and responsibility to implement only as much of the project's methods as seem warranted to the teacher. Here the on-site nature of the training helped persuade the teachers of the feasibility of the project.

The exclusion of the high school as a training site is the final major adaptation. Some respondents believed that the original project plan called for all the teacher trainers to be withdrawn from the other schools and concentrated in the high school during the third and last year of the project's existence. Since the high school was the last unit to open and since the other schools had already had the benefit of the project's resources, such a schedule made good sense. Unfortunately, this plan did not reckon with the principals of the schools who would have had to give up "their" teacher trainers. Their experience with the trainers created a vested interest in keeping them (and incidentally provides one measure of the project's success).

The commitment of the high school principal to the training project is somewhat equivocal. In part, he believes that he already has a successful operation (the staff of other high schools in the city are sent to his school for preparation), and thus he doesn't feel much need for the trainers. He also believes that the nature of the high school's curriculum cannot lend itself to much more individualization than already exists. Finally, he, too, has been very preoccupied with getting the school building to function. For whatever reason, he seems not to have struggled very hard to break the trainers away from their current assignments.

The changes described above represent the first-wave modifications in the project away from its original purposes. The net effect of the second wave has been to move it back toward its original purposes. The force motivating the second wave has been the new park director, who saw in the project one of the few park-wide resources that could be turned to his purposes. Since his major

responsibility is to create a unified educational environment that would be more than simply the sum of the individual schools, he had to move to recentralize the project staff.

The move was met with considerable resistance. The idea of a multischool "park" is a new one to the principals, who are used to operating in the splendid isolation Metro City affords them. The principals had become used to controlling the time of the teacher trainers, and they had long since moved adherence to the park's unifying theme down the agenda of their own priorities. (There are, of course, exceptions, including one assertive principal who used the park philosophy to screen teaching applicants for her school and who has since encouraged teachers who could not or would not work according to park standards to seek employment elsewhere.) Resentment about the recentralization of the project staff under the control of the park director included for a time the mobilization of parent opinion in some schools.

The park director also found it necessary to retrain the training staff in order to focus its activities on the project's original purposes. Despite this drive, the project's efforts, as described under "Current Operations," are still not exactly congruent with the proposal. Thus, the amount and extent of the change expected and the complexity of the project have all become somewhat simplified. Other aspects of these schools, for example, their bureaucratization, communications patterns, and capacity to innovate, have remained unchanged throughout the project.

NEAR-TERM BEHAVIORAL CHANGE

Organizational Changes

The creation of six new schools in this sort of a setting necessarily submerged whatever organizational effects in terms of morale, organizational change, etc., might have come from the project. That is not to say that there were not such changes; in fact, there is evidence that there were changes. Still, it is extremely difficult to separate the positive effects of the training experience from the other circumstances, including, of course, the social class characteristics of most of the park's children.

The evaluation of the second year of the project collected data on the extent to which the teachers had

- Expressed positive attitudes toward teaching and educational innovations.
- Individualized instruction, fostered pupil self-directed inquiry, etc.
- Developed curriculum materials about "human diversity and cultural pluralism."

Staff Changes

The evaluation report provides contradictory conclusions about the success of these efforts. In one place it says, "The teacher objective of individualization of instruction and development of student autonomy was not met." In another, "the training program has had a decided positive impact on the encouragement of pupil autonomy among teachers, but a less clear impact on attitude toward teaching or educational change." Our observations about the effectiveness of the training indicate that in the elementary and middle schools perhaps as many as a third of the teachers per school now consistently employ major items of the individualization strategy (or to be more accurate, "group differentiation"). In general, the technology of teaching/learning has been effected more completely than has the "diversity" content of what is being taught.

Whether or not attitudes toward teaching have changed as a result of the project cannot be reliably determined given the effect of the new schools in a new park with a new philosophy. In addition, the population successfully trained with this generation's innovative techniques may well turn them into tomorrow's orthodoxies, and resist further change. Thus, current teacher attitudes toward change are questionable indicators of future attitudes.

Although most classrooms are equipped with materials reflecting cultural and human diversity, this development seems more a function of Metro City's political climate and recent purchasing practices than of the project. In addition, the extent to which minorities are represented in the curriculum materials of the various schools varies widely (and is directly related to the attitude of each principal).

Most of the discrete, specially developed curriculum units that were to have emanated from the project have in fact been produced, notwithstanding somewhat behind schedule.

Student Changes

The project objectives for students were:

1. The development of awareness and respect for individual differences and cultural diversity.
2. The development of self-guided le rning and autonomy especially among minority students.
3. The creation of enthusiasm toward school.
4. Increased educational achievement.

The second-year evaluation demonstrated that cross-cultural and racial communication was more effectively enhanced by the project in the lower grades than in the upper grades. Given the fact that the project was never really implemented in the upper grades and that the lower grades would have had more exposure to project treatments, this result is not surprising. Overall, the evaluators concluded that the first objective had been successfully met, although the attribution of success to the project, given its Metro City context and given the other enormous changes in these schools, seems questionable. The evaluators also concluded that the project was not successful in stimulating autonomous learning among the students, and that, although treatment school students were more enthusiastic about their school experience than were nontreatment school students, the students' enthusiasm for school had diminished from the beginning of the school project year until the end. Again, there would seem to be more plausible alternative explanations of that finding than simply attributing the effect to the project. This conclusion, of course, applies as well to the achievement scores that the evaluators cited as evidence of the project's success. Students in these schools scored at or slightly above the levels that could be expected of other students of a similar social class background.

The conclusion that we have reached is not that the project did not have any effect, but that the effects observed may have been due to other causes as well. The fact that there was some progress on an ambitious agenda of student-related objectives, and the fact that the progress occurred and was sustained during a period of extreme disruption in the schooling career of the students, is certainly something to which this project contributed.

Value to Project Administrators

Although they enjoy griping about the red tape associated with any outside project, the majority of Metro City's school administrators will readily accept virtually any project. In a way, they resemble sharks that "feed" on anything that moves, confident in the knowledge that if it later turns out to be inedible it can always be disgorged. The extreme needs of Metro City education are one reason for that behavior and the extreme malleability of project resources is another. Thus, there are very few additional services that one could offer a Metro City principal that would be irrelevant to the perceived and persistent needs of these schools. The situation is one in which any help is acceptable (but not necessarily gratefully accepted). The second element of this receptivity has to do with the confidence Metro City administrators feel about resource utilization. The business of running the schools in Metro is so complex that the system superintendent literally cannot tell how many schools there are in the system, and constituent school districts regularly over-spend their allotments by seven-figure sums before anyone notices. Responsibility is so frantically atomized among the offices, players, levels, bureaus, and boards that the buck never stops. By the time school principals have finished their decade-long apprenticeship, they are no longer concerned with evaluations, audits, study teams, examiners, and the whole paraphernalia of formal contract compliance. It is not so much a matter of generating dummy data (although there is plenty of that) as it is simply a process of cooperating with any evaluation or assessment to the extent that the evaluation is either disabled or coopted. And, where that doesn't work, one need not be too concerned, because the system lacks the mechanisms through which evaluation results can be translated into program actions. It should be noted that the Rand study team did not encounter this phenomenon. We have described it because it helps explain why Metro City administrators are so seemingly uncritical in accepting projects. They know that once the project is in place in their school building, it can be used for their purposes.

In this realistic context, the participating school principals endorsed the availability of extra help. Because the project did not create real problems for any of the schools, it was seen as a useful additional resource. Almost to a person, the principals thought staff development was very important and they would like to see the project continued.

Unanticipated Consequences

First, it seemed unlikely that the project's designers paid adequate attention to the likelihood that the project staff would be "captured" by the principals whom they served. The entrenchment of the project staff kept the original plan to service the high school from being realized and it strengthened the hand of the principals. The second unanticipated consequence relates to the abandonment of the community agenda. The fact that the project staff served a felt need among some teachers created a demand for staff services that was more compelling than the practically nonexistent demand for assistance/training from the community. There is in both of the foregoing events the thread of the third unanticipated consequence. The early laissez-faire days of the project probably burned up most of the park's "honeymoon period" in which a truly unified cluster of schools could have been created. Instead, the permissive availability of project resources, which led to resentment when they were later recentralized, may actually have retarded development of the park concept.

The final unanticipated consequence is supported only by a hunch tangentially suggested by some data. The project began with goals that were in many respects mutually contradictory--that is, fostering respect for cultural pluralism and individualizing instruction. On one hand, realization of those goals might require a child to subordinate pursuit of his own interests in deference to the legitimacy of other competing or plural goals (i.e., respect for pluralism), but on the other hand, the project sought to respect and to bolster each student's individuality. The tension is a persistent and unresolved feature of most political situations, and the project can hardly be blamed for not having reconciled what millenia of philosophy have not resolved. Yet, success on the individualization goal (which was the much more widely accepted goal) did probably come at some expense to pluralism. One indication may be the fact that racial isolation among students increased slightly over the project's life.

CONTINUATION

The project set out to improve and to differentiate instruction. It also tried to increase the respect displayed by the professionals and the students for cultural heterogeneity. These are the goals that characterized the key people in the project and in the schools and that will continue to characterize their efforts after the termination of the project. Insofar as the park director functions as the park school's superintendent, he will undoubtedly continue to pursue these goals.

Whether these goals will be pursued through a teacher and community training program is much more problematic. The physical circumstances of the park (especially the buildings' proximity and the flexibility of their interiors) continue to enhance the receptivity of this site to a training project. On the negative side, however, is the fact that training costs money--a lot of money in Metro City. The union contract specifically and conclusively precludes workshops or training sessions for teachers outside of the regular working hours unless such training time is purchased and optional. Releasing teacher time for in-service teachers encounters class load limits (also enforced through the contract) and/or necessitates the use of paid substitutes. The development of exemplary or supporting materials also requires money.

Some of the training slack could be taken up by the principals' more aggressive pursuit of the "master teacher" and teacher-training parts of their jobs. Here again, union/management considerations intrude. Union cohesiveness has been developed by fostering militancy and class consciousness on the part of teachers. Observations and evaluations for any purposes are carefully spelled out in the contract and enforced in most situations. Although principals may remain formally responsible for teacher training in their schools, the adversary nature of their relations with teachers has long since deprived them of the access or the credibility necessary for effective training.

Thus, if project goals are to be continued, they will be continued through the same sort of externally imposed project that characterized the last three years of this Title III grant. There is a real possibility that exactly the same sort of activity will be carried on although under the aegis of the federal Emergency School Assistance Act.

A related point needs to be made here. In Metro City there are very strong centrifugal forces that will pull the park schools back in the direction of the whole city's norm. The union protects its teachers from the need to change; the size of the place and all of its units insulates the professionals; and the scale of the problems blocks expectations and thus efforts about their solution. People in Metro City sincerely believe that extra money will buy them freedom from these constraints and will make change possible. The converse of that belief is that withdrawal of that money knocks the props out from under any attempt to change. Because they have had the money and the extra help, the people in these schools are now likely to be very resistant to further unfunded change attempts because "we don't even have any help."

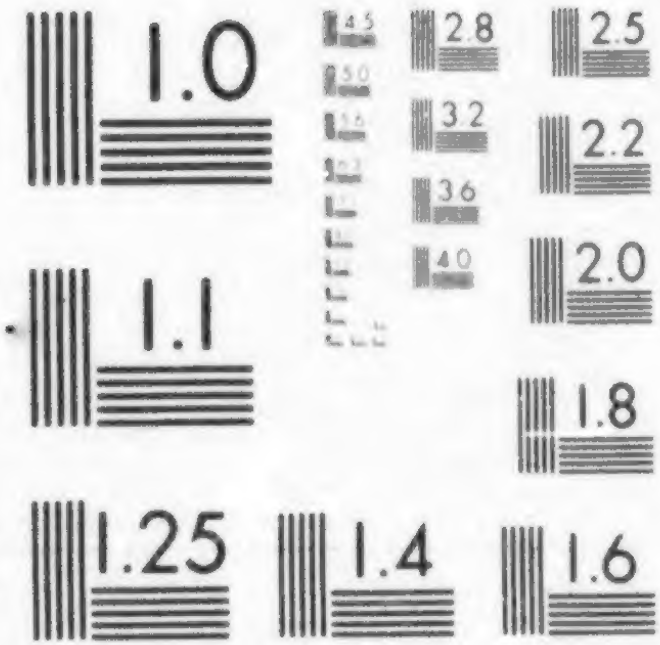
The persistence of change in those people who have adopted project techniques is not much in doubt. They like what they are doing, they prefer it to their former patterns, and they won't go back. Thus the individualization/differentiation effects will outlive the project. With respect to the second major component of the project, the evidence is less clear. In the first place, the resistance to inculcating respect for racial and ethnic diversity was seriously underestimated (as it has been by almost anyone who has sought to increase racial justice in this country). The amount of achievement on this agenda that can be attributed to the project is slight indeed. In part, the lack of progress here may be attributed to the quiet climate of the times. In the absence of serious, overt, disrupting racial strife, most people have preferred quiet to progress. Rather than push for change in the only time in which change is possible (i.e., in the absence of precipitating crisis), not much is done. Thus, the irony is that during that time in which change might be possible, there is an absence of a felt need to do anything. The irony has affected the park project as well.

DISSEMINATION/DIFFUSION

One of the key decisions of this project, and a decision that was heavily dictated by the Metro City environment, was to pack almost all of the project's resources into additional staff. Thus, the "project" was virtually coterminous with particular teacher trainers, with paraprofessionals, and with substitutes--all of whom could be made available to regular classroom teachers for training purposes. Although there may not have been much else to do given the Metro City constraints, this strategy also means that there won't be very many exportable packages, or very much to disseminate to other schools except the exhortation to go out and get some additional people to do teacher training.

The limited amount of dissemination may be attributed to other considerations as well. The park is, after all, the only one of its kind and thus not very credible as a training model. Second, such is the pride of every Metro City school, that no one believes that they have anything to learn from anyone else. Third, in order to maintain a semblance of equity, the community superintendent for the district that included the park could hardly tout the park's procedures to its brother schools. These schools were already complaining about favoritism and thus were not likely to be willing imitators of park procedures.

What little dissemination there has been has derived from the personal networks of project staff who from diligence or serendipity have been mildly active in describing park training techniques to outside audiences--but such audiences number probably not more than a dozen.



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